

Johns Hopkins University

THE
DEMESMAN IN ATTIC LIFE

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS
HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIRE-
MENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR
OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
JOHN BOWEN EDWARDS

The Collegiate Press
GEORGE BANTA PUBLISHING COMPANY
MENASHA, WISCONSIN
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TO MY MOTHER
THIS PAPER IS AFFECTIONATELY
DEDICATED

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PRELIMINARY NOTE

The organization of the demes has been made the object of so much study that enough has been learned about this peculiar institution of the Athenians for one to look for an answer to the question of how it affected the feelings and sentiments of the citizens, to ask about the rôle of the demesman in the life of the people as well as the importance of the deme in the organization of their government. The deme is a town or ward, the demesman is the citizen who lives in it, and back of the bond between the citizen and his city, appears the basic tie between the citizen and his deme. Thus the first thing to be done is to obtain an understanding of this relation. It is only as the demesman is active in such capacity that he is felt in Attic life, and since actions are best explained by motives and feelings, the relation between demesman and deme would present itself as a feeling of local attachment. In the next place it is necessary to consider the deme again from this new point of view in the four forms of human activity—politics, religion, trade, and society. Since the last of these cannot well be considered until we are better acquainted with the demesmen themselves it is reserved for a later chapter. The regard of the demesman for his deme and his view of the demes having been presented, it remains to see how the demesmen conducted themselves in their association both with men and with the gods—for the Athenians,¹ as we have heard, were a very religious people—and to secure a definite impression of the character of the demesman. For popular ideals pictured in action one would naturally turn to the field of drama, and for the still more illuminating expression of popular prejudice and of private interest to the field of oratory. In rounding out the view and to present the demes in their true historical perspective it is indicated how the balance of power shifted inside

¹ For a time it had seemed that in the Cult of Apollo with its great oracle at Delphi Greek Religion had found a strong centralizing power. But their god had failed them in the crisis of the Persian War and this threw them back upon their local divinities—because the miracle did happen, the Persian host was defeated, and it was a defeat which merely human powers could never have achieved. For this intervention of the gods the Athenians, as their agents, had the most reason to be grateful. Theirs was a far different fate from that of their brothers in Ionia—whose gods had not protected them against the enemy, the result being that they were far less conservative than the Athenians. In fact Ionian philosophers were in danger of being persecuted in Athens because of impiety.

the state. The deme-name or *demotikon* is also discussed, chiefly its use in characterization, thus harking back to *philochoria* (the feeling of local attachment) again and finally the social cohesion of the deme is treated, and the demesmen are seen to stand together in the intimacy of kinsmen and neighbors.

CHAPTER I

LOCAL ATTACHMENT IN DEME AND STATE

In the picture that Plato gives of an ideal society he locates it in Attica.¹ In the *Laws* he places the ideal city eighty stades from the sea, and Athens was just half that distance—as Thucydides had noted;² and all through the *Laws* it is evident that in his description of the ideal state Plato was thinking of his own city no less than of Sparta and comparing and contrasting the two.³ So the familiar things in our own life inevitably color our ideals—the things that are nearest to us and that custom has made dear. It is not so very remarkable that a man should love his own country, his birthplace especially, and the place known to him as home. For this sentiment, the feeling of local attachment, the Greeks had a word—*philochoria*—and in them it reached an intensity which other peoples might emulate, indeed, but have rarely, if ever, surpassed. They personified the places they lived in (as who does not?) and these personifications, these *genii loci*, became like gods to them, and as they advanced in civilization, their sense of local attachment developed from affection for a particular place to that passion for their imperial city which is so proudly expressed in the large activities of the Athenians of the Age of Pericles.

The Age would look to Homer for its ideals—and of his two principal heroes, Achilles and Odysseus, the Athenian would find himself in closer sympathy with the Ionian hero. The *Iliad* tells of the “wrath of a roving chieftain who would sooner fight in an enemy’s country than live happily in his own”; the *Odyssey* is the story of the homeward voyaging of Odysseus and at the very beginning of the story the poet represents him as longing for the sight of Ithaca.⁴ He spins out the story for the sake of its fascinating adventures but he is very honest with his hero and represents his constant purpose as the wish to be at home in his own land once more and the name of Ithaca is frequent on his lips.

There is a physical side to this attachment which is very real and did not escape the poet’s notice. Thus in the *Odyssey*⁵ the

¹ Plato: *Kritias*, 110 C, 112 B-D.

² Thucydides, II, 13. Cf. Plato: *Laws* 704 B.

³ Susemihl: *Genetische Entwicklung der Platonischen Philosophie* II, 480. Cf. also 477.

⁴ *Odys.* I, 56-59.

⁵ *Odys.* IX, 19-27. Alluded to by Lucian in his *Patriae Laudatio*.

hero describes his beloved Ithaca as *τρηχεὶ' ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος*, *a rugged isle but a good nurse of noble youth*. Hellas was not a rich country; and such a circumstance emphasizes the quality of its inhabitants. It may even develop a more material side—this also is noticed by the poet. Thus he makes Telemachus in his complaint to the Ithacans, assign a double cause to his grief—the death of his father and the continued waste and threatened destruction of his property.⁶

The patriotism of the Athenians drew its strength from the same source as Odysseus' love for Ithaca. It had its religious as well as its secular side; in some mysterious way one's ancestors continued to dwell in the land, their spirits to watch over their descendants, and in a very clear and practical way the land fed them and afforded a refuge.

The influence of *philochoria*⁷ on a man's life and his work is shown well enough in the case of the great poets of Athens, who combined their love for the city with the simpler affection which every Athenian felt for the place of his origin.

Thus Aeschylus, who was born at Eleusis and grew up there, does not escape the solemn influences of the sacred city. His affection for Eleusis is alluded to by Aristophanes⁸ but Aeschylus himself never mentions its name.⁹ Could it have been an unwelcome word to an Athenian audience at one time and so this avoidance have become a stage tradition? For he is equally solicitous to avoid mention of Sparta¹⁰—and to glorify Argos.

Sophocles, who came from just outside of Athens, could not be induced to leave his own city by any of the princes, who invited him to their courts.¹¹ He drew his most inspiring material from Attic legend. He could have had no such motives as Aeschylus for avoiding mention of his birthplace; and it is in his native deme, Κολωνός, that he locates the last of his plays of Oedipus.¹² Throughout this play the altars and gods of the deme are

⁶ *Odys.* II, 50.

⁷ Cf. Plutarch, *Demosth.* c. 2.

⁸ *Frogs* 886.

⁹ In the plays extant. But one of his plays was called οἱ Ἐλευσίνιοι. The deme Ἐλευσίς is not mentioned in comedy.

¹⁰ Mycenae was destroyed 467. But the cities of the heroic age are ever present to the poet—and this avoidance must have been intentional.

¹¹ *Vit. Anon.* οὐτω φιλαθηναῖος ἦν

¹² *Oed. Col.* 670.

praised and in one of the choruses its natural beauties are described.¹³ Athena and Poseidon figure in the play, but Athena is here Athena Hippias; Poseidon, Poseidon Hippios.

Euripides also shows, in his patriotism, the same twofold attachment. Salamis was his birthplace, and his poetry celebrates the island and its heroes.¹⁴ But he is chiefly an Athenian. One of his plays¹⁵ has to do with the Attic tribes, and the cult of Artemis at Halae. Brauron is honored in a second,¹⁶ and the Herakles cult of the Tetrapolis and the Demeter cult of Eleusis are prominent in two others.¹⁷ Sparta is *tabooed* just as in Aeschylus. And Argos is glorified—some of the heroes are even taken away from the Dorian cities and made into Argives. This was the other side of *philochoria*. You love your own land, you hate your enemy's. If a man is of another country that in itself is a *casus belli*. It is due to local jealousy. In an oration of Demosthenes¹⁸ this is appealed to in conjunction with local attachment, the orator urging the Athenians in this speech not to degrade their citizenship by conferring it upon Aristokrates.

It was among the Athenians that the feeling of local attachment reached its highest form; to them the larger vision came.¹⁹ And the other Hellenes were aware of this. The Corinthian envoys to Lacedaemon in 432, just before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, held up the Athenians to the Spartans as models in this respect.²⁰ But this larger patriotism quickly falls away, unless it has the simpler as its foundation. It was not without some political insight that Aristophanes represents in his *Acharnians* the absurdity that arises when the two affections are opposed to one another. Dikaepolis is so homesick for his deme²¹ that he makes a

¹³ *Oed. Col.* 1070. Cf. Pausanias, I, 30.

¹⁴ Euripides: *Troad.* 801, 1086. *Hel.* 88, 150. *Iph. in Aulis* 194, 288.

¹⁵ *Ion.* 1528 ff.

¹⁶ *Iph. in Tauris* 1453, 1462.

¹⁷ *Herakleidae* and *Suppliants*.

¹⁸ *Dem.* XXIII, 211-214.

¹⁹ See the ode on the glories of Athens in Euripides' *Medea* or the funeral speech of Perikles as reported by Thucydides.

²⁰ Thucyd. I, 70.

²¹ The deme was *Χολλεῖδαι*. Cf. *Ach.* 406. But the Schol. on 34 says he was a *δημότης* of Acharnae. There is no necessity for assuming any such thing, or that he held property even in Acharnae. The *Acharnians* merely represent the war party. The Spartans were too close to Acharnae—the events of the play could hardly have been imagined as occurring there. But *Χολλεῖδαι* was an urban deme some distance from the city walls and so exposed to a Spartan raid—or to a sally from the city—in which the *Acharnians* were shut up.

private peace with the Lacedaemonians so that he may go home and live there undisturbed. Proud though each Athenian might be of his city and its glory, contented as he might be with the empire which brought him so convenient a revenue, still the nearest if not the first object of his love was the deme where he lived or with whose members he was associated. The deme was the centre of the Athenian's attachment to the State and as every deme repeated in miniature the organization of the City, participation in its privileges and duties was for every demesman a preparation, as it were, for the larger political activities of the imperial city.

CHAPTER II

THE DEME AS A POLITICAL UNIT

The character of the deme in its capacity as a political unit is due to the fact that so many of the demes were once village communities as to have given them all the stamp of that type. Wherever you study the origins of an Aryan folk you will find the village community at the basis of its social organization. And here the word *δῆμος* itself points to the village community. In Homer it means "Land" and "Folk";¹ in Attic it means "Canton" and "Community," or "People," and is often equivalent to *κώμη*.² A *δῆμος* consisted of *κλῆροι*, the shares of land assigned by lot, and the social history of *κλῆρος* parallels the political history of *δῆμος*.³

The double aspect of the village community reflects itself in the character which has already been given to the *philochoria* of the Hellenes. There is a religious and secular side. The village community consists of a group of families united by the assumption of a common kinship, and of a company of persons exercising a joint sovereignty over land.⁴ It is a form particularly adapted to colonization.⁵ When such a group under its hereditary chieftain takes possession of any land, this land can become private property only by the leader's making a division of the arable land and assigning it to his followers according to prowess, dignity or lot. In Attica the poverty of the soil or rather the lack of any large, continuous territory tended to hold the various little groups apart; when a valley filled up, a colony would be sent out, as often as not by sea. It is easier to rule a large number of men than a small number; in the former case the chieftain can become intimate to only a few; in the second, the smaller the group the more each member of it feels his own importance. This is why democracy can develop so much more rapidly in small and isolated communities, where the necessity for the centralization of power is not so evident. Wherever large groups of men have lived in close association there has

¹ *Iliad* III, 50, V. 710. XVI, 437. *Od.* I, 103. XIII, 266, 322. XXIV, 12.

² *Isocr.* VII. 46.

³ Mangold in *Curtius Studien* VI, 404. Boisacq. *Dict. Etym. de la langue Grecque*, s. v. *Δῆμος*. L. Meyer, *Handbuch der Griech. Etym.* 1, 233.

⁴ Maine: *Village Communities*, p. 10.

⁵ Wallace: *Russia*, c. VI, p. 107-126. Earle: *Land Charters and Saxon Documents*, Introd. xlix. Tacitus: *Germania* c. 36.

been a rapid and irresistible trend towards monarchy. But in such a community as might settle in some valley plain of Attica it is reasonable to suppose that when the land came to be distributed, the fighting men of the group would not be neglected and a more equitable distribution⁶ would be made, though the chieftain might reserve the best for himself and a part of the public domain would be given to the ancestral god.

The village community when it first appears presents four characteristics; 1) kinship; 2) government by a council; 3) land held in common; and 4) a common worship.⁷ In its initial development the first and last are important, but as the influence of kinship declines as a principle in social organization before that of geography the second and third receive greater emphasis. In the Attic deme is shown a stage in this transition towards the geographical organization of society but all the early characteristics of the village community remain.

1. There is the fiction of kinship maintained by a general group.

2. The government is by an assembly (*ἀγορά*), and by a headman or *δήμαρχος* one of whose duties is to see that no boundaries are transgressed, i. e., to maintain the integrity of the *κλήροι*.

3. The common land does not extend to all the lands the *δημόται* own but there are some lands held in common, the deme treasury is administered for the advantage of the community, residents in a deme of which they are not members are taxed, and the deme is a corporation in the eyes of the law.

4. There is a common cult. Every deme has its hero or ancestral god. Attica is thus full of holy places.

In the City the same four ideas are to be traced.

1. Ion was the mystical ancestor.

2. The government rested originally with the *βασιλεύς* and the *Βουλή*, then with the *Βουλή* and only with the complete democracy did the *Ἐκκλησία* become powerful.

3. The theory of communal ownership remained. Distributions to the public were not uncommon, such as the *θεωρικόν*, which has a communal basis.

⁶ From the same root as *νέμω*, which means *to distribute*, and especially to distribute land for pasturing cattle, comes *νόμος*, which in Attic means law, human and secular law as opposed to *θέμις*. *Νόμος* is the "square deal," the "principle of equity."

⁷ W. W. Fowler: *The City State of the Greeks and Romans*, p. 33.

4. The City had its cult in the worship of Athena, Zeus and Apollo. That other gods were worshipped as of almost equal importance only goes to show the composite character of the population of Attica.

The religious side of local attachment appears in the attempt which the village community made to extend that community into the world of the dead. It was natural to think thus⁸ and it led to some curious developments which will be taken up in the chapter on the deme as a religious center. In two ways this affects the political relation between the deme and state. The deme legends which present a picture sufficiently confusing have all felt the effect of the desire of the Athenians to glorify their City. In the case of Homer this was probably at the expense of the historical renown of some of the demes.⁹ And yet the deme cults were objects of concern to the City also, as well as every private cult, to see that they were continued. The protection of the gods was necessary to the prosperity of the state and it was part of a citizen's patriotism to assist in making this a certainty. The Hellenes believed, therefore, that the State grew up out of the family; for they found in the organization of the family, the clan, the deme, the city, analogous institutions. Thus Aristotle writes:¹⁰ "That society which nature has established for daily support is a household (*οἶκος*). . . . But the society of many households for mutual and lasting advantage is called a *κώμη*¹¹ or village, naturally composed of members of one family, whom some call *δμογάλακτες* . . . When many villages join themselves perfectly together into one society that society is a state."

When Attica emerges from the confusion of legend and myth into history, we find a highly organized social structure built on the principle just quoted from Aristotle. It is not necessary to go into the past which lies back of that structure much farther than Thucydides has done¹² in his account of early Attica, in order to

⁸ Rohde: *Psyche* I, p. 5. ff.

⁹ See Leaf's note on *Iliad* II, 552 (edition of 1900).

¹⁰ Aristotle: *Politics* i, 2, 6, ff. The Greeks believed, then, that the State arose from the household, developing through the village community. Cf. Elwood: *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, p. 98. "We must reëmphasize, therefore, the fact that the family is the central institution of human society, that industry and the state must subordinate themselves to its interest."

¹¹ Pöhlman: *Gesch. d. Soz. Frage u. d. Sozialismus in d. Ant. Welt*, I, 10.

¹² Thucyd. I, 2.

understand it. It was less exposed to attacks from without, he said, and so retained its original inhabitants. Each wave that swept down the Greek peninsula drove refugees into Attica, and so the population is composite, ultimately increasing to such an extent as to be obliged to send out colonies to Ionia. Now that last is the one doubtful point about his explanation. But it was imperative to account for the Ionians in some way and they chose to make Attica rather than an Ionian Hellas the mother country of the colonies of Asia Minor and the Islands.¹³

However fascinating the early history of Attica and its inhabitants, especially the Pelasgians, may have been¹⁴ it is not possible to give any solution of the many questions with which the obscurity of that early history is shrouded. The original inhabitants of Attica were, says Herodotus,¹⁵ the Pelasgians. And remains of the Pelasgians are to be noted in the chthonic cults in Attica, the numerous non-Hellenic place names, the traces of the castle and houses on the Acropolis, the beehive tombs of Menidi, Thorikos, Eleusis, the remains of Spata, Aphidna, Brauron,¹⁶ the legends of the Amazons and the traces of matriarchy in the institutions and language of Attica.¹⁶

The Ionians and Pelasgians, fused into a composite race, formed the population of Attica. Two other waves of immigration, or invasion, the Achæan [this is the story of Eurystheus. They were driven back. Strabo IX, p. 377] and perhaps a Dorian [There are Dorian cults in Attica¹⁷—especially in the Tetrapolis, where Hera-

¹³ It is probable that it was the other parts of Hellas rather than Attica which sent out Ionians to Asia Minor—Bœotia for instance.

¹⁴ Ridgeway: *Early Age of Greece*, p. 139.

¹⁵ Hdt. I, 57. Cf. T. W. Allen in *Class. Quarterly* 3, 223.

¹⁶ Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 261; "Of the many survivals of matriarchal notions in Greek mythology one salient instance may be noted. St. Augustine, telling the story of the rivalry between Athena and Poseidon, says that the contest was decided by the vote of the citizens, both men and women, for it was the custom then for women to take part in public affairs. The men voted for Poseidon, the women for Athena; the women exceeded the men by one and Athena prevailed. To appease the wrath of Poseidon the men inflicted on the women a triple punishment, they were to lose their vote, their children were no longer to be called by their mother's name and they themselves were no longer to be called after their goddess, Athenians." See St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* xviii, 9. The question was raised by Bachofen: *Das Mutterrecht* (1861).

¹⁷ Hall: *The Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 41. And Alcibiades claimed descent from Eurysaces, son of Herakles. J. H. S. V, 34. Abbott, *Hist. of Greece* I, 280.

kles was a chief god.] recoiled upon themselves. There were many back eddies in the stream of these migrations and the early inhabitants were never so completely subdued as the Helots in Laconia, but the newcomers rather combined with them on more equal terms, adopting freely their religious and social institutions. It is the testimony of both Herodotus and Thucydides that the historical continuity of the population of Attica was unbroken by either Achaean or Dorian invasion.¹⁸ The patriarchal principle of course prevailed; but traces of the other survive.¹⁹

Whatever may have been the earlier history of Attica the legends seem to recognize certain geographical divisions, and it is along the old lines that the party divisions arise after the unification of the country and the centralization of power at Athens. The demes sink from any political importance, except as members of conflicting leagues in the legendary period of Attic history, and it is only with the organization of Cleisthenes that they receive again an importance commensurate with their origin. In order to break up the party strife of the people of Attica the state is to be settled upon its original foundations? Not altogether. The geographical or local principle is to supplant in a measure the gentile.

Aristotle's account is as follows: "Accordingly when, at this time, he [i. e., Cleisthenes] found himself at the head of the masses, four years after the expulsion of the tyrants, in the archonship of Isagoras, his first step was to distribute the whole population into ten tribes²⁰ in place of the existing four, with the object of intermixing the members of the different tribes, so that every person might have a share in the franchise. From this arose the saying 'do not look at the tribes,' addressed to those who wished to scrutinize the list of the clans.²¹ Next he made the Council to consist of five hundred members instead of four hundred, each tribe now contributing fifty, whereas formerly each tribe had sent a hundred. The reason why he did not organize the people into twelve tribes was that he might not have to divide them according to the already existing trittyes; for the four tribes had twelve trittyes; so that he would not have achieved his object of redistributing the population in

¹⁸ Ridgeway: *Early Age of Greece*, p. 140, Hdt. I, 56, 58. VIII, 44. Thucyd. 1, 2.

¹⁹ Jane Harrison: *Prolegomena*, pp. 262, 273. *Themis*, pp. 386, 498.

²⁰ Botsford: *The Athenian Constitution* in Cornell Studies IV, 197. Francotte: *La Polis Grecque*, p. 45.

²¹ "Those who wished to find out about a man's birth."

fresh combinations. Further, he divided the country by demes into thirty parts, ten from the districts about the city, ten from the coast and ten from the interior. These he called *trittyes*; and he assigned three of them by lot to each tribe in such a way that each should have one portion in each of these divisions. All who lived in any given deme he declared fellowdemesmen to the end that the new citizens might not be exposed by the habitual use of the family names but that men might be known by the names of their demes and accordingly it is by the names of their demes that the Athenians speak of one another. He also instituted demarchs who had the same duties as the previously existing Naucrari—the demes being made to take the place of the naucraries. He gave names to the demes, some from the persons who founded them since some of them no longer corresponded to localities possessing names.

“On the other hand he allowed everyone to retain his family and clan and religious cult according to ancestral custom. The names given to the tribes were the ten which the Pythia appointed out of the hundred selected national heroes.”

“By these reforms the constitution became more democratic than that of Solon . . . In the archonship of Telesimus they, for the first time since the tyranny, elected the nine Archons by lot out of the five hundred candidates selected by the demes, all the earlier ones having been elected by vote.”²²

The unit of the State is to be no longer the *γένος* but the *δῆμος*. In the *γένος* the religious principle prevails, blood determines status; in the *δῆμος* the power of wealth owned by plebeians can make itself felt.

Herodotus sums up the situation with a little more emphasis on *τὰ γένη*:²³ “The power of Athens had been great before but now that the tyrants were gone it became greater than ever. The chief authority was lodged with two persons, Cleisthenes of the family of the Alcmaeonids, who is said to have been the persuader of the Pythoness, and Isagoras, the son of Tisander, who belonged to a noble house but whose pedigree I am not able to trace further. Howbeit his kinsmen offer sacrifices to the Carian Jupiter. These two men strove together for the mastery and Cleisthenes, finding himself the weaker called to his aid the common people. Hereupon, instead

²² Aristotle: *Ἀθ. πολ.* 21 and part of 22. Kenyon's translation, 1891, pp. 37-41.

²³ *Hdt.* V, 66. Rawlinson's translation.

of the four tribes among which the Athenians had been divided hitherto, Cleisthenes made ten tribes and parcelled out the Athenians among them. He likewise changed the names of the tribes; for whereas they had till now been called after Geleon, Aegicores, Argades and Hoples, the four sons of Ion, Cleisthenes set these names aside and called his tribes after certain other heroes, all of whom were native except Ajax. Ajax was associated because, although a foreigner, he was a neighbor and an ally of Athens. . . . Cleisthenes . . ., having brought entirely over to his own side the common people of Athens whom he had before disdained gave all the tribes new names and made the number greater than formerly: instead of the four Phylarchs he established ten. He likewise placed ten demes in each of the tribes; and he was, now that the common people took his part, very much more powerful than his adversaries."²⁴

The political importance of the gentile cults was a thing of the past. The cults continued but participation in a *γένος* was no longer a requisite to citizenship. The tide towards democracy had set in.

Thus the Alcmaeonidae brought in the demes to help them against a rival *γένος*—and what was to be the price? Equality in the courts comes first—that the people had already. It was no new thing and by now attendance was rather lax. Political equality and a sort of participation in the public cults must consequently be given to the commons. In its locality each old *γένος* had been supreme, for as a rule the units of the state had coincided with districts controlled by the established cult organizations which were based on the tie of blood. Consequently the franchise was extended, the phratries were rearranged, and the importance of localities shifted. Before Cleisthenes family and locality had been commensurable.

Old Style:- Before Cleisthenes—

Kinship		Territorial	
4	φυλαί	4	φυλαί
12	φρατρίαι	12	τριτῦες ²⁵
30	γένη	48	ναυκραρία
?	οἴκοι	?	κλήροι

²⁴ Hdt. V, 69. See chapter VII, note 48.

²⁵ Loeper: *Die Demeu und Trittyen Attikas*. A. M. XVII, 319-433.

The γένος originally occupied a definite territory (δῆμος) and lived in a κώμη. For defense or aggression only adjacent γένη could combine. Thus the phratries were modeled after the γένη but on a larger scale with common cult and common ancestor. The *phylae* would be the link between the phratries and the State and would only seem to be like the others. They would be changed with pretty nearly every reorganization of the constitution. The eponymi of the four tribes were the four sons of Ion—but if there is fact back of the tradition nobody knows what it is. The tribe was wholly an artificial body long before Cleisthenes. He could change it as he liked, it would make little difference. But the phratries and γένη which were associated in the common worship of deified ancestors were in their religious and secular association so combined as to be highly disadvantageous to the political prospects of the new faction of the shore in whose ranks were many plebeians and which naturally inclined to rest, on wealth rather than blood, all claims to privilege in the State. So Cleisthenes did not simply break up the factions; his reorganization of the constitution made his own faction supreme. The Eupatrids of the shore demes were wise enough to throw in their lot with the democracy.

In the new system the tribes were ten, the naucraries fifty, the trittyes²⁶ thirty—for here the new system bites into the old. Each of the old factional districts was broken up into ten parts, which were called *trittyes*, and then the *phylē* was made up of three of these parts, one from each district. There the importance of the *trittyes* might well have rested except that their subdivisions, the demes, were given a place in the scheme which made them its chief support. Citizenship was made to depend on registration in the deme. The clan registration was retained but its importance largely restricted to the religious side. Church and State were separated; for administrative—political—purposes, only the deme was recognized by the State. Everyone who could, however, kept his name on the roll of the clans. It was a social distinction only, of a fast disappearing consequence.

The gentile and local divisions were originally commensurable because out of the local community of several families grew their mythical if not also to a considerable extent their actual kinship. Through this community of blood the life of the clan might con-

²⁶ The Aeolic form *τριππύς* brings us to the Latin *tribus*. Cf. Dio C. Fr. I, 1. Szanto in *Hermes*, XXVII, 312-315.

tinue undiminished, for the dead were thought to return in the course of fate.²⁷ The gentile principle is not done away with in the new system but it is extended to a wider application—the State takes up the function of the *γένος* more and more. But the old divisions were crystallizations and could not flow into the forms of the new system. The new divisions of the State were secular in purpose, administrative and territorial, but it was not possible to do away with religious sanction and so the fiction of kinship was continued.

New Style:- Arrangement by Cleisthenes—

Kinship	Citizenship	Territorial
4 <i>φυλαί</i>	10 <i>φυλαί</i>	10? ²⁹ <i>φυλαί</i>
12 <i>φρατρίαι</i>	? <i>φρατρίαι</i> ²⁸	?
		30 <i>τριττύες</i>

100? *δῆμοι*

48 *ναυκραρίαι*

50 *ναυκραρίαι*

The family of Cleisthenes was on better terms with Apollo than with Poseidon or Demeter or Zeus. The old system had the sanction of the gods; so must the new. It was quite impossible to slight this matter of kinship—real or mythical—in any social organization of the Hellenes. The mythical bond was the more important—as the story of Orestes indicates. And the Athenians could not conceive of any permanent association which lacked this bond of blood. In this case it was manifestly beyond the power of mortals to determine for these ten new tribes who the common ancestors might be. The question was referred to the Delphian Apollo and the tribes were named by the Oracle.

The new system gave more power to the Shore³⁰ and to the City for there were now city demes in each of the tribes and the citizens

²⁷ The repetition of a man's name in that of his grandson tends to keep alive such a notion. Farnell: *Greece and Babylon*, p. 213.

²⁸ For an account of the *φρατρίαι* after Cleisthenes see p. 17 ff.

²⁹ Botsford: *Athenian Constitution*, Cornell Studies IV, p. 103.

³⁰ In thirteen instances different tribes have demes of the same name. If it is a country deme it is assigned to a different tribe (*Κικύονα* V and VII, *Κολωνός* II, *Οἶον Δεκελεικόν* VIII, *Οἶον Κεραμεικόν* IV) in most cases; if a democratic deme it is apt to remain in the same tribe (*Δαμπτρά*, three demes all in I, *Παιανία* two demes both in III, *Περγασή* two demes both in I, so with *Ποταμός*, not so with *Φηγαία*, *Ἀγρυλὴ*, and *Ἀγκυλὴ*). Both city demes keep in the same tribe. Suppose men from country demes to have settled in the city, they would keep their feeling of local attachment and would form a sort of club. If numerous enough they could be made into a new

from the other demes did not always come up to Athens to exercise their right of franchise. Besides this new citizens were admitted—resident aliens and even slaves. New phratries may have been formed for them⁸¹ or the old may have been open to them; and now appear new cult organizations as subdivisions of these new phratries—viz., *θιασοι* and *ὀργεῶνες*.⁸² To avoid that invidious distinction of blood the new citizens and the old are to be known by their deme-names or *demotika*. Locality determines registration and after this official mention of the citizen introduces him with his *demotikon*, except in a few phratric inscriptions and there, too, the *demotikon* will sometimes force itself. The four old tribes were not destroyed;⁸³ they still continued in the religious life of the people; but through the new ten tribes the State had based itself upon the local divisions of the country and the demes were for the first time officially recognized as “the granite of the State.”⁸⁴

deme, keeping the old name. And if they came from an inland deme they might be put in a different tribe. So with *Ἐποιάδαι* VIII A and X C, *Εἰρέα* V A and X C, *Κολωνήθεν* X C and II A. *᾽Ωα* or *᾽Οα* III C and *᾽Οη* VI A. (In this note the Roman numerals refer to the official list of the tribes, C=Coast and A=City.)

⁸¹ Francotte: *La Polis Grecque*, p. 22, 24. And Ferguson in *Cl. Phil.* 1910, p. 257; “The phratries remained 12 as before, cf. the law of Philochorus (ca. 403 B.C.) ‘that the phrateres should admit of necessity both *orgeones* and *homogalaktes*, whom we call *gennetae*.’”

⁸² Cf. von Premerstein in A.M. 1910, 103 f., Ferguson in *Cl. Phil.*, 1910, Poland *Gr. Vereinswesen*.

⁸³ I. G. III, n. 2.

⁸⁴ Grote: *Hist. Gr.*, III, 91. Hicks and Hill: *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 58, p. 99. Cf. C. D. Wright, *Outlines of Practical Sociology* p. 94.

CHAPTER III

THE DEME AS A RELIGIOUS CENTER

The political dependence of the Polis on the demes precedes their religious connection. Many of the demes dated their first beginnings from the most remote antiquity, the recollection of their autonomy was retained in their traditions, and they clung to their religious rites and their holy places. These could not be moved to the city. Artemis had her precinct on the Acropolis but really remained at Brauron, Demeter never really left Eleusis, and the local gods and heroes did not in every case change their chosen seats. Thus Attica was full of gods. Laconia alone of the countries of Hellas had more shrines and temples.¹ To the Athenians this seemed an excellent state of affairs. The State might depend for its political welfare and economic prosperity on the patriotism and industry of its citizens, but for all that it would be well to have the favor of the gods. *Θεός* to the Hellene was almost a collective term. It was the unknown power of the unseen world. And man had a relation to that unseen world, a bond of communion with that unseen power. Religion means a bond or tie; and the people to maintain this relation will have certain religious duties to perform. What more natural than that they coöperate to obtain the favor of the gods and that they perform as a community those offices which are to secure the divine favour? Experience has been interpreted to show that it is unwise to vary from a given formula in prayer or ritual of service. There are reasons for this which are practical enough. In a passage of Lysias the mind of the ordinary Athenian reveals itself on this point. Their ancestors, says the orator, by sacrificing according to their early laws had made the city the greatest and most prosperous of all the cities of Hellas so that they ought themselves to offer the same sacrifices as their ancestors if for no other reason than because of the good fortune which has followed their sacrifices.²

According to the interest which the gods take in human affairs they spoke of fortune or the will of the gods. Both ideas they had, and the State ought to be *εὐδαίμων* first and afterwards *εὐτυχής*. Men who risked bringing on the community the ill-will of the gods,

¹ G. B. Hussey, *The Distribution of Hellenic Temples* in A. J. A. VI, 63.

² Lysias XXX, 18.

who were *μυαοί*, might be charged with impiety—and such charges were frequent—so that the patriotism of the Athenian could find expression in a deeper *δεισιδαιμονία* than prevailed in the rest of Hellas. All over Attica the gods had special seats. To retain their favour lands were assigned them, altars and temples set up to their glory, and festivals held on given days over which they presided. So, too, with the heroes. This was ancestor worship, *the community of the family extended into the other world* as the ritual shows. The graves of the heroes on Attic soil were regarded as perpetual safeguards since their spirits would never be far away. The deme in which any great hero lay buried would naturally emphasize his cult, even though he might not be the ancestral hero.³ And they did not depend on the heroes only; every local hero was associated with some god. These heroes were only earlier inhabitants of the land, the notable among their forefathers, to whom acquaintance with the local gods, as the myths relate, had given a semi-divine character. It was only to be expected that the demes should abound in the most flattering traditions of past greatness in which their heroic ancestors tower up almost equal with the gods. Some of the demes went back to kings and many kings have been canonized into the heroic calendar. But some of the greatest names were assigned to the tribal heroes; these were, with one exception, the names of Athenian princes. The tribal hero was more important to the *Polis* than to any of the demes. He was always a shadowy figure of far less consequence than a local divinity. One could appeal to him in a deliberative or an epideictic speech but contracts were not sworn to upon his altar.⁴ The deme heroes and their cults were the more basic, no matter how grand a claim upon his patriotism the tribal hero might make to the citizen.

Where do these deme heroes come from? In some cases the deme is named after some family or *γένος*. The family had its gods, its heroic ancestors, with whom it continued in communion through the funeral repast which was offered to their shades. A man who founded a town would come very close to being absorbed into the cult of that place as its local hero. The founding of a city⁵ is the

³ Except in the case of a hostile hero. Thus Eurystheus was buried in two pieces, so that his spirit could work no evil. But the graves of Ion at Prasiae and of Theseus at Athens were not so regarded. For myths of the deme, see Strabo IX, 396.

⁴ Isaeus II, 31.

⁵ Cf. Plato: *Laws* IV, 712 B. Cf. IV, 717.

establishment of a community between the clan which builds the city and the god of the locality.

The Athenian did not choose his gods. They were his by family and nativity. Locality, therefore, practically determined religion, for a cult once established clung tenaciously to a place. It might spread over more territory, but the first family would exercise a jealous supervision and the priesthood would be the last privilege given up.⁶

Religion preserves the stages of its entire development. Thus the *γένος* which was modeled in all ways after the family was regarded even by the Hellenes as an artificial corporation. It could not, however, on account of the cult which was a public good, be resolved again into its elements. And it occupied a definite territory, no doubt, since so many places are only the names of *γένη*. Attica was continually receiving accessions of population from abroad. If these newcomers were noble they could establish themselves in the system on a par with the Athenian nobles. Later on the citizenship was more jealously guarded. But there must have been many men in a *γένος* who did not share the privilege of full *γεννήται*. The *γένος* does not admit *ὀργεῶνες* to full and equal rights and the real *γεννήται* call themselves *ὀμογάλακτες*. But noble families died out, their wealth decreased; the non-nobles rose from their misery, some grew rich in their turn. The prestige of the *γεννήται* in the phratry was enfeebled; the *θίασοι* grew more and more important and finally became equal to the *γένη*.⁷ In the phratry there were no *γένη* but the *γεννήται* were distributed in the *θίασοι* in groups of *συγγενεῖς* and it was a common thing for the members of the *thiasoi* to designate themselves *phrateres*.⁸

In the time of Isaeus there need not have been more than twelve *phratries*. The *phrateres* are as well acquainted with a man as his *δημόται* and are even more useful as witnesses. Such intimacy could hardly arise between members of a large corporation: but a man's *phrateres* are the members of his *thiasos*. For the phratry is not commensurable with the *δῆμος* any more than it was with the *γένος*. In Demosthenes XLIII, 13-14, 'Αγνίας ἐξ Οἴου, Εὐβουλίδης ἐξ Οἴου'

⁶ Farnell: *Cults of the Greek States* III, p. 130.

⁷ Francotte: *La Polis Grecque*, p. 24.

⁸ Poland: *Gr. Vereinswesen* 12 folw. and 17 folw. Ferguson in *Cl. Phil.*, 1910, 257 f. von Premerstein in *A. M.*, 1910, 103 f. Wilamowitz: *Arist. u. Athen.* II, 259. Francotte: *La Polis Grecque* p. 18 ff.

Θεόπομπος Προσπάλτιος and Μακάρατος all belonged to the same phratry, though deme and tribe were different.

At the head of the γένος stood an annually changing archon. This shows that the γένος was once a military, political and territorial unit. Attica is thought to have been settled by γένη. Phratries were leagues determined by local conditions and were organized for defence; they had all the obligations of the blood relationship. The *phylē* is an organization of people who grew up in the same country originally and who become conscious of their relationship when they have to face a foreign enemy. From its military importance the tribe derives its territorial and administrative importance. It was by φυλαί that the Athenians met the world outside; but it was by clans and demes that the State regulated its domestic affairs. It is impossible to say which is the more fundamental—γένος or δῆμος. But it is easy to see how the same feeling explains them both. People of the same locality soon become related. The feeling which one has for his family can extend in a lesser degree to his clansmen and so on to his demesmen. The γένος aims at power, military and social prestige; the aim of the δῆμος is wealth and economic security. Although the system of Cleisthenes was remarkably flexible and gave to every man an equal chance, these two wants continued. Now a social institution is capable of organic development only in so far as its characteristic principles are capable of being modified to meet the demands made by the more extended application required of them. And two things began to affect Athenian life very seriously. One was the distress occasioned by the Peloponnesian War, the other the confusion in the demes brought on by the invasion of metics and slaves and by the shift of population to the city. It is no wonder that they began to lose faith in the established cults; their gods had not protected them in these new trials.

The γένος and the δῆμος rested upon an earlier age; the new conditions demand new corporations. Thus the θίασος succeeds the γένος and the ἔρανος, the δῆμος. And the oligarchs to whom power was an object could not use the θίασος,⁹ which was a mere cult organization, but fell back upon the ἑταιρία. Fashion had it that every corporation should have its protecting deity and here is where the ἑταιρίαι were exposed to a charge of impiety by the demo-

⁹ Roberts-Gardner II, no. 84, l. 96, a θίασος appeals to the phratry. The inscription indicates that a group was held responsible for its members.

crats. No such charge could be made against the demesmen. The local hero was too good an investment. It is curious that through the relations of a hero and his deme should run this same double thread, that he should have a business value as well as a religious one.

The local hero would be a help in trouble, if it came to securing the help of the gods in war or to avert sickness and famine. And the Athenians did not limit themselves to native heroes; they imported them. Thus the tombs of Eteocles and Polynices were seen by Pausanias at Eleusis,¹⁰ Oedipus was buried at Kolonos, and the fact that the foreign hero might have an actual tomb elsewhere made little difference. Lang calls this the very fanaticism of hero worship;¹¹ but such imitations were utilitarian in their aim.

And the other side was economic. The demes had their holidays or local festivals.¹² This meant a market, if the festival were well attended. A festival in honor of a hero of special sanctity would be well attended. The sacred precincts round the temples could be turned over to the visitors and they could pitch their tents—for permanent houses could not be built. Such festivals were a common feature of Attic life.¹³ When Pericles planned to have the people of the demes camp out inside the city walls during the Lacedaemonian invasion he relied on this habit of the Hellenes of living in tents during their festivals.¹⁴

¹⁰ Paus. I, 39, 2.

¹¹ A. Lang: *The World of Homer*, 126.

¹² Haussoulrier: *La Vie Municipale en Attique*, p. 162. So they had charge of the Thesmophoria at Cholargos. Cf. *Rev. Epigr.* 1914. II, p. 80.

¹³ Cf. the proverb *κατόπιν ἑορτῆς ἤκομεν* Plato: *Gorg.* 447A. G. O. Berg: *Metaphor and Comparison in the Dialogues of Plato* (JHU Diss.) p. 34.

¹⁴ Thucyd. II, 17, 1: 52, 3; I, 89, 3. A. J. P. XIII, 72. For festivals celebrated in the demes see Schol. on Aristophanes *Acharnians* 693.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEME AS A TRADE CENTER

The first thing Dikaeopolis did after concluding his celebrated peace with the Lacedaemonians was to set up a market. He knew whom he would admit to that market and whom he would exclude. He stood upon his rights. There was an agora in every town. The marketplace is the sacred precinct of democracy. But when the demes became a part of the new constitution, there were many which were not towns but wards. Thus Brauron had two—Phil-aedae and Kydantidae—and the city demes depended on the city market.¹ On the other hand Peiraeus had two markets.

A market is no longer an essential attribute of the deme as it is of the town. And the town keeps on growing until in some cases it overshadows the local deme. This was true of several of the shore demes but especially true of the Peiraeus.²

Also the demes it is thus seen cannot be trade centers. Only those which occupy locations favorable to commercial activities can become such. One pre-requisite for such a town is that it can be easily defended and the earlier the period in which it is established the more imperative is such a requirement. For security is necessary to commercial development. Thus the cult organizations and religious leagues of the little towns were too convenient to be given up. They meant peace. Peace meant a market—in fact, just as it did in the fancy of Dikaeopolis.

Thucydides tells how Attica in the early days could not support a population constantly increased by immigration and so had to send out colonies. The general observation is true. An agricultural state cannot support its population after that population has reached a certain figure. But a manufacturing state can. Solon encouraged the trades and thus Attica could support a larger population than before. Manufacturers must have a market. The home market was not sufficient. Consequently the Athenians looked to the sea. The mercantile class began to grow in power.

¹ Athens had practically two *ἀγοραί*. Aristotle, *Politics* VII, 12, recommends two, one for trade and one for politics as in Thessaly.

² Also Eleusis and Rhamnus.

A military aristocracy fixes upon blood to determine social status but in the commercial community wealth takes the place of blood. In Corinth it had done so already and so it was to do in Attica. But as Attica is a larger territory the resistance to such a change is longer maintained. There arises between the inland demes and the shore demes a distinction, which is certain to manifest itself in political rivalry.

Chief among the demes in wealth ranked Kydathenaeon,³ Kera-meikos, Melitê, Kollytos and Skambonidae,⁴ which were inhabited by many citizens from country demes who paid the *ἐγκτητικόν*. Of the country demes Acharnae was the largest.⁵ Paecania, Alopeke, Anaphlystos, Aphidna, Aixone, Kephisia, Pallene and Marathon were large demes⁶ but the rest of the demes did not number more than fifty demesmen or so.⁷

The inland demes were controlled by an aristocracy of blood with a military organization; their centralization in the city secured the ascendancy of their principle for a long time—until, in fact, a shore deme rivaled the city itself.⁸ For in the economic race the inland demes were at a serious disadvantage and fell behind the shore demes; this disadvantage was the miserable roads of Attica. A road is man's way of overcoming geography and the first road of all is the sea. Trade found that road from the first. It could be used for connecting the markets of Attica with those of other countries or those of the demes with one another. By their location the country demes were cut off from this avenue to wealth and power—the tide to the city set in. It was thus the sea which decided the character of the Athenians, making first the shore demes democratic. For these were the homes of merchants and sailors and artisans whereas the uplands remained aristocratic—inhabited by noble families with their serfs and slaves. When the city be-

³ The importance of the deme, Kydathenaeon, can be explained by the fact that it was the only city deme of its tribe. Loeper in A. M. XVII, 366.

⁴ Wilamowitz in *Hermes* XXII, 120.

⁵ Thuc. II, 19. Cf. I G II. 868. In the fourth century the tribe *Ολυνίς* had 50 *βουλευταί*, 22 of them coming from the deme *Ἀχαρνάι*.

⁶ Dem. LVII, 57.

⁷ B. C. H. XIII, 349. I G II. 578. In Myrrhinus 30 made a quorum in the deme assembly; Halimus had only 73-80 demesmen. This at the beginning of the fourth century.

⁸ Andocides II, 21, shows how the Athenians came to depend on the Peiraeus for much of their food supply. Cf. Dem. xx, 31.

comes the center of Attic life the Athenians for the most part have country homes. These they keep as far as possible but each family aims to have also a house in town.⁹ At the beginning of the fourth century there were in Athens more than ten thousand houses, the number of citizens being something like twenty thousand.¹⁰ All these were of course not homes. Many were stores or workshops or were rented to metics. But after every allowance has been made it still appears that very nearly every family could have a house to itself. Houses were cheap and simplicity the rule in architecture.¹¹ The city, therefore, became the arena in which the country and the shore were to contend for political supremacy. Cleisthenes broke up local faction, gave to his own party the certain ascendancy, but was not able to change the geography of Attica, so that the same influences continued in operation tending inevitably towards similar results. But from merely local rivalries it became a division as in other Hellenic states between two social principles—blood and wealth. To secure for itself the power of numbers wealth makes the State a democracy, striking an alliance with poverty itself which leads ultimately to the tyranny of the Demos and the downfall of the State.¹²

In summarizing Athenian history one sees how the aristocratic influences are first supreme at Athens and that the shore demes concentrate their forces at the Peiraeus. When the democracy rules the city a new factor arises, the Proletariat, and the balance of power reverts to the city, but it is a different city. In the division into *οἱ ἐν ἄστει* and *οἱ ἐκ Πειραιέως*, the City becomes the Conservative Party; in the new division between the City and *οἱ δῆμοι* the country demes are the conservative element. Without them Athens would have been more like Corinth. But the country demes, strictly speaking, never had any political leader. They had instead Aristophanes, a comic poet.

The twofold character of the deme has been demonstrated and its functions in Attic life sufficiently indicated; the functions of the demesman in Athenian society reflected in Aristophanes, Plato and the Orators show the same twofold character. As a kinsman or as a neighbor having an interest in the same locality—thus he figures.

⁹ Plato: *Laws*, 745.

¹⁰ Büchsenchutz: *Besitz und Erwerb in Griech. Altertum*, p. 76.

¹¹ Büchsenchutz: *Besitz und Erwerb im Griechischen Altertum*, p. 76.

¹² Dümmler: *Kleine Schriften* II, S. 424.

As a kinsman he is a friend; as a neighbor he is not such the moment there arises a conflict of interests. But as a demesman he combines the two relations and to this is due the solidarity of the deme which comes out so clearly in all the activities of the demesmen.

CHAPTER V

THE DEMESMAN IN DRAMA

Aristophanes belonged to the city deme *Κυδαθηναίων* of the tribe *Πανδιονίς*.¹ The question is raised as to whether he was citizen-born or attained to citizenship by a decree of naturalization.² The impression given by the plays themselves makes it seem highly unlikely that he could have been other than an Athenian of Athenian ancestry. His parents had gone out to Aegina with a cleruchy and the youth of the poet was thus spent on a little landed estate among just such sturdy yeomen as he describes in his comedies; Dikaeopolis of Cholleidae, Trygaeus of Athmonon, Strepsiades of Kikynna, Euelpides of Krioia, Strymodoros of Konthyle, Chabes of Phylê, Chaerophon of Sphettos are all from the country demes and some of them are too human, too individual to be wholly fictitious characters. The poet is using men whom he knows very well indeed to give life to the characters he puts upon the stage.

But the demes and the life which they knew gave the poet something more than types for his characters and names to use in witty allusion, or possibly in a more patriotic vein. In his political views appears very clearly the predominant influence of locality. Aristophanes is a democrat, yet not an extremist; he dislikes the oligarchs and distrusts them, but the demagogues he distrusts and despises. If it has seemed to some rather difficult to construct from the eleven plays we have a complete system of politics, a democratic constitution as it were, there is nothing strange in that. The country demes had not yet reached a political self-realization to the same degree as the Shore and Peiraeus. Had they found a spokesman in the *Βουλή* or the *Ἐκκλησία* as they did in the theatre and made themselves really felt in the councils of the State, Athens might have been by much the gainer. Their poet could express their feelings, might even give utterance to a few of their principles in his scorn of demagogues, his ridicule of oligarchs. But a play even though it may win the first prize at a public festival is not politically so

¹ It is interesting to note that for the Athenians tragedy began in Icaria with Thespis and comedy with Susarion, Chionides and Magnes. The demes of the great tragic poets lie outside the city; but comedy must seek the town, the focus of life where it can study human types. Aristophanes was not the only comic poet to come from *Κυδαθηναίων*.

² Croiset: *Aristophanes and the Political Parties at Athens*, pp. 8-10.

effective as a *γραφὴ παρανόμων*. It may for all that give an ampler and truer picture of Attic life. Thus in the *Acharnians* the functions of the demesmen are mostly set forth.

It was not a new thing to name a play after a deme.³ Eupolis wrote a play called *Δῆμοι* which probably meant the country demes;⁴ and Aristophanes has thus honored the largest of the demes, *Acharnae*, which was in view of the city up towards *Parnes*. A country deme, the *Acharnians* were opposed to the policy of *Pericles* which kept them tented in the city. They might be supposed to favor a more active policy. The hero of the play, old *Dikaeopolis*, is true to his local attachment, his *philochoria*. The discontent of the country demesmen⁵ at the desolation of their deme is expressed by *Dikaeopolis* in the opening lines of the play. With some insight into the character of the country *Aristophanes* has him get to the Assembly long before time for the session to begin.

ἀποβλέπων ἐς τὸν ἀγρὸν εἰρήνης ἐρῶν,
 στυγῶν μὲν ἄστυ, τὸν δ' ἐμὸν δῆμον ποθῶν,
 ὅς οὐδεπώποτ' εἶπεν, ἀνθρακας πρίω,
 οὐκ ὄξος, οὐκ ἔλαιον, οὐδ' ἥδει πρίω,
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἔφερε πάντα χάς πρίων ἀπῆν.
 νῦν οὖν ἀτεχνῶς ἤκω παρεσκευασμένος
 βοᾶν ὑποκροῦειν, λοιδορεῖν τοὺς ῥήτορας
 εἰάν τις ἄλλο πλὴν περὶ εἰρήνης λέγῃ.

As nobody does speak on the subject of peace the good burgher makes a private peace with the *Lacedaemonians*. It is too late to get any others to share in this.⁶ The *Acharnians* whose deme has already been laid waste by *Archidamus* and his army are bitterly opposed. They stand for the larger patriotism in contrast to the short-sighted *philochoria* of *Dikaeopolis*. They came near catching *Amphitheos* who brought the treaty back to *Dikaeopolis* from *Sparta*, as he relates to the old yeoman in a passage in which the poet pays the deme a compliment.⁷

³ Tragedy deals with individuals; comedy is inclined to deal with types, groups, corporations. A guild which develops certain peculiarities becomes a fit subject for comedy; so will a community. Eupolis named a play after the *Prospaltians*, a deme with a reputation for litigiousness. *Suidas* and *Etym. Mag.* sv. *δρυαχαρνέυ*. For plays with deme names see *Haussoulier La Vie Municipale en Attique* 198-199.

⁴ Koerte in *Hermes* XLVII, 305.

⁵ Of whom the *Acharnians* were the most considerable. *Acharnians* 9.

⁶ The *Acharnians* are representative of the war party. Cf. *Thucyd.* 2, 20.

⁷ Cf. *Acharnians* 177 following.

ἐγὼ μὲν δεῦρό σοι σπονδὰς φέρων
 ἔσπενδον ὅ οἱ δ' ὥσφροντο πρεσβῦταί τινες
 Ἀχαρνικοί, στιπτοὶ γέροντες, πρίνινοι,
 ἀτεράμονες, Μαραθωνομάχαι, σφενδάμνινοι.

Here they are called Ἀχαρνικοί.⁸ A few lines back it had been Ἀχαρνέας, the ordinary form of the *demotikon*.

As they are the chorus Dikaeopolis himself has occasion to address them. He makes use of a high-sounding patronymic based on the *demotikon*, Ἀχαρνηΐδαι.⁹ But he does not long maintain such a respectful elevation. In a few lines comes the more frequent Ἀχαρνικοί,¹⁰ which the chorus repeats in surprise at his insolence. Clearly the patronymic pleased them better. But for all that this same chorus addresses the Muse as Ἀχαρνική.¹¹

Dikaeopolis has betrayed the State. He has made peace with an enemy. The chorus exhort one another, appealing as demesmen,¹² to destroy the traitor. And Dikaeopolis relies on the same relationship for his defence—he takes a demesman of theirs as a hostage. This hostage is very appropriately a λάρκος, for the Acharnians were charcoal burners, or rather the charcoal burners who came into Athens were Acharnians. The city-man's point of view must not be forgotten in comedy. The Acharnians are all devoted to their demesman, Larkos the Acharnian, and when Dikaeopolis threatens to kill the hostage they are in great distress.

ὡς ἀπωλόμεσθ' ὃ λάρκος δημότης ὅδ' ἐστ' ἐμός
 ἀλλὰ μὴ δράσης δ μέλλεις. μηδαμῶς, ᾧ μηδαμῶς.¹³

And another tie endears Larkos to them. He is their ἡλικιώτης as well as their δημότης.¹⁴

Thus between their indignation at Dikaeopolis the traitor and their affection for Larkos their demesman, his hostage, the Acharnians are checked, but it almost cost Larkos his life, as Dikaeopolis remarks blaming them (Ach. 349);

ὀλίγου τ' ἀπέθανον ἄνθρακες Παρνήσιοι
 καὶ ταῦτα διὰ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῶν δημοτῶν.

⁸ A. J. P. XXXI, 443.

⁹ *Acharnians* 322.

¹⁰ *Acharnians* 324, 1808. Cf. C. W. Peppler: *The Termination -κος in Aristophanes* in A. J. P. XXXI, 444.

¹¹ *Acharnians* 665. Cf. Pindar *Nem.* II. It was a warlike deme. See also page 55 and Suidas s. v. *δρυαχαρνεῖ*.

¹² *Acharnians* 319.

¹³ *Acharnians* 333.

¹⁴ *Acharnians* 339. Cf. Plato: *Theages* 121 D, *Apol.* 33 E.

Before he addresses the demesman in defence of his policy Dikaeopolis wishes to dress himself up, *οἶον ἀθλιώτατον*, so as to work upon their sympathy. So off he goes to find Euripides and knocks at his door. There is no answer. He calls out, giving his name—*Δικαίopolis καλεῖ σε Χολλείδης*—with the *demotikon*.¹⁵

Another demesman, Lysistratos of Cholargos, is called a disgrace to his deme—*Λυσίστρατος τ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ Χολαργέων ὄνειδος*—¹⁶ A deme, then, can be sensitive to the reputation of one of its members. The Athenians were extraordinarily sensitive to public opinion and the character of the citizen, or rather his lack of character, was felt to reflect upon his deme. But the deme, too, may judge character and the citizen's reputation depended in the last analysis upon his standing in his own deme. From going to the older members of the deme to ask if they know the man about whom one may be seeking information¹⁷ to presenting them in court to testify for or against a citizen in whose case he may be actively interested the opinion of the demesmen is of the highest importance. It is the basis of public opinion among the Athenians. The deme is the unit; political status depends upon a man's standing in his deme.

A *demotikon* can be used in characterization as in the episode where Derketes of Phylé¹⁸ whose oxen have been driven off by the Boeotians comes to Dikaeopolis for peace ointment.

The play concludes with the triumph of Dikaeopolis, who in tipsy revelry mocks the war-like Lamachus, exulting in the success of his treaty with the Lacedaemonians. But the poet has been more considerate of the Acharnians than of other demes in other plays. It seems that he inclines to treat the shore demes with less kindness.

When the demes are mentioned by Aristophanes it is for one or more of the following reasons:

1. In characterization. To introduce the characters. Here the *demotikon*.¹⁹

2. On account of some local cult or custom.²⁰

¹⁵ *Acharnians* 406. Cf. *Clouds* 134, 156; *Wasps* 81; *Peace* 190, 918; *Birds* 645; *Thesmophoriazusae* 627, 898; *Lysistrata* 852; *Ekklesiazusae* 979.

¹⁶ *Acharnians* 855.

¹⁷ As in *Lysias* XXI.

¹⁸ *Acharnians* 1023.

¹⁹ *Acharnians* 406; *Clouds* 134, 210; *Peace* 190, 918, 919; *Birds* 645; *Lysistrata* 852; *Thesmophoriazusae* 620, 898; *Wasps* 233.

²⁰ *Knights* 773, *Birds* 395, *Frogs* 503, 651, 1093.

3. On account of some local peculiarity or accident of location.²¹
4. To recall the glories of the Persian Wars, when Athens was the saviour of Hellas.²²
5. To make a hit of some kind, mostly at the expense of the demes.²³

The use of the *demotikon* in introductions is a mark of the substantial democrat. Athens had become bourgeois and it is noteworthy that many of these characters are men of demes lying in or near the city, in some cases having country residences. They always announce themselves by their *demotika*. So Strepsiades, when he comes to the school of Socrates,²⁴ announces himself as Φεῖδωνος υἱὸς Στρεψιάδης Κικυννόθεν, and Trygaeus calls himself Ἀθμονεὺς,²⁵ in the Peace. Euelpides in the Birds²⁶ is Εὐελπίδης Κριώθεν who lives apparently in Ἀλιμοῦς,²⁷ and Kinesias introduces himself as Παιονίδης Κινησίας.²⁸ In the Thesmophoriazusae²⁹ Mnesilochos, who is disguised as a woman, answers Cleisthenes' question as to "her" husband's name by saying; τὸν δέῃνα γιγνώσκεις, τὸν ἐκ Κοθωκιδῶν; and Kritylla styles herself Κρίτυλλά γ' Ἀντιθέου Γαργηττόθεν.³⁰ In the Wasps³¹ Strymodoros is addressed as ὦ Στρυμόδωρε Κονθυλεύ βέλτιστε συνδικαστῶν and asked about Χάβης ὁ Φλύεύς, if he has come yet? In all this the πολῖται know each other by their deme names. The deme is the social unit of the Polis. The relation to one's demesmen is a narrower circle and only when an outsider refers to it will a *demotikon* be used, as where Lysistratos is called the reproach of his deme.³² In addressing one another, or in speaking of their relations to their demesmen, members of the same deme will be satisfied with δημότης.³³

²¹ *Knights* 320; *Birds* 496; *Lysistrata* 1031; *Frogs* 477; *Thesmophoriazusae* 998; *Plutus* 720.

²² *Acharnians* 697; *Knights* 560, 781, 1331; *Clouds* 400; *Birds* 868; *Wasps* 711; *Thesmophoriazusae* 806.

²³ *Knights* 79, 895; *Birds* 476; *Frogs* 429; *Peace* 190, 919; *Lysistrata* 850.

²⁴ *Clouds* 134.

²⁵ *Peace* 190, 919.

²⁶ *Birds* 645.

²⁷ *Birds* 496.

²⁸ *Lysistrata* 852. The official character of all this is shown in 895. Cf. Hdt. VI, 109. Aristotle, *Aθ. πολ.* 34, 27. Dem. XX, 146. LIX, 72 Aesch. III, 115.

²⁹ *Thesmophoriazusae* 620.

³⁰ *Thesmophoriazusae* 898.

³¹ *Wasps* 233.

³² *Acharnians* 856.

³³ *Acharnians* 319, 328, 333, 348; *Knights* 320; *Clouds* 209, 1206, 1221, 1322; *Peace* 918; *Lysistrata* 685; *Ekklesiazusae* 1023, 1115; *Plutus* 255, 322.

The deme is no longer a village community though in the country the demesmen may engage together in their farm work.³⁴ In the ninth oration of Isaeus³⁵ the demesmen are all out in their fields at the same time and in the *Plutus* δημόται is linked with τοῦ πονεῖν ἐρασταί. The demesmen are held together by their common cult, their common duties to the State, their local nearness, their ἀγορά, or deme-meeting. Sometimes their *agora* must have been a very informal affair; the deme came nearer the freedom of the family than the Assembly of the Citizens. And *agora* meant *market* as well. Barter goes on there. It thus becomes the place where the demesmen settle local affairs. Prices are fixed at this or that [although, of course, there are no fixed prices] and what a man is comes out in this public life. The demesmen are the bystanders. Now a neighbor may not always know what goes on next door but the demesmen will know what goes on in the market place of his own town; the affairs of the deme will not be too complex for him to comprehend and to remember, if occasion require it. If a man is in trouble he appeals for help first to his neighbors and kinsmen and then to his demesmen,³⁶ ὧ γείτονες καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ δημόται, for the neighbors will be likely to be nearest, the kinsmen most concerned for his safety, the demesmen most interested in the maintenance of public order. So if he wants judgment or an opinion he will appeal to his demesmen.³⁷ Judgment is sometimes given unasked, and a man may himself be the object of the criticism of his demesmen³⁸ or may become absurd or hateful to them. But to make an enemy of one's demesmen is an offence against the social order. In the *Clouds*, Pasion bewails the fact that he has made an enemy of his demesman—when he had only tried to collect an honest debt.³⁹ A man's chief support in the politics of the city is his demesmen. His aim is to keep his demesmen his friends and to make friends in a large deme which has a correspondingly larger representation in the Boulé and so more weight in the State. A man's duty is to benefit his demesmen⁴⁰ and he naturally looks to

³⁴ *Plutus* 254.

³⁵ Isaeus IX. 18.

³⁶ *Clouds* 1322; *Lysistrata* 685; *Ekklesiiazusae* 1115. The neighbors are called in in case of fire. *Thesmophoriazusae* 240.

³⁷ *Acharnians* 319, 328.

³⁸ *Knights* 320.

³⁹ *Clouds* 1221.

⁴⁰ *Peace* 919.

the demesmen for a return.⁴¹ The very acme of devotion is shown by the Acharnians for their demesman Larkos.⁴² And old Strepsiades in the *Clouds* when shown a map of Attica refuses to believe that it is Attica unless he can see *Κικύονα* and his demesmen.⁴³ Friendship may arise largely through habitual association and this may be residence in the same locality. It is very difficult to be friends with people you rarely meet; but friend and demesman are by no means synonymous.⁴⁴

⁴¹ *Ekklesiazusae* 1023. *Plutus* 254, 322.

⁴² *Acharnians* 332, 348.

⁴³ *Clouds* 210.

⁴⁴ *Knights* 320; *Clouds* 1206, 1221; *Wasps* 233; *Ekklesiazusae* 1023; *Plutus* 255. And see Chapter VII, note 40.

CHAPTER VI

THE DEMESMAN IN THE ORATORS

In Aristophanes the gentile side of the deme relationship¹ is not so prominent as in the Orators. Thus in Antiphon the demesman appears contrasted with the *κηδεστής*.² The passage gives two reasons why one man should help another. Phanostratos who is of the same deme as the accusers, is related by marriage to the defendant and has been entrusted with a charge in which both are interested. The way *δημότης* is here balanced with *κηδεστής* might almost be taken to indicate that the two bonds are of about the same weight; the *δημότης* being descended from a common ancestor, this is a tie which has to be recognized. In Antiphon's time it must certainly have stood more on a par with relationship by marriage than it did later on.

Antiphon was one of the leaders of the Four Hundred. His deme was Rhamnus, a northern deme and a shore deme. Most of the leaders of the Four Hundred, where their demes are known, come from inland and northern demes. Thrasybulus, one of the leaders of the democracy, came from Steiria, a shore deme, and Theramenes who went over from the oligarchs to the democrats was of the same deme.

Andocides was a man who betrayed his demesmen (for the *ἐραυρία*, headed by Euphiletos consisted chiefly, if not wholly of Kydathenaeans) in the interests of his family—*συγγενείς*—under pressure from the State. He does not, therefore, dwell on the deme relation. The *philochoria* of the demesman appears only once³ and this is a case where deme and Polis were practically the same, since Kydathenaeon was situated in the heart of Athens.

The *demotikon* figures in its legal function. In taking testimony it is essential that the court know where the witness comes from. Thus it is on the declaration made by a slave of Pherekles of Themakos that Andocides bases his plea for his father's innocence.⁴

¹ For it quickly took on that in imitation of the *γένος* which it supplanted.

² Antiphon VI, 12; Cf. *Lysias* XIII, 55.

³ Andocides I, 5.

⁴ Andocides I, 17. Cf. Dem. XVIII, 129.

The other demesman mentioned is Alcibiades of Phegous—and to avoid confusion with Alcibiades of Scambonidae.⁵ But he was of the same tribe as Pherekles.

Andocides being an oligarch would naturally incline to introduce men by the father's name. Thus the father's name occurs twelve times in his speeches to the *demotikon's* twice. And when he does bring in the demesman he does it rather informally—the article occurs with the *demotikon*; and the official style omits the article.⁶

Lysias was⁷ a metic and a democrat in sympathy. For him *πολίτης* comes first in the scale, and *δημότης* may even stand above *συγγενῆς*, *κηδεστής*, *γεννήτης*, *ἐταῖρος*. The *demotikon* will be used more than the father's name.⁷

In the speech against Eratosthenes one demesman appears. He belongs to Lamptrae, a shore deme, and is violently opposed to the oligarchical club of Kritias and Charicles (XII, 55).⁸

In the speech against Agoratos⁹ we meet Hagnodoros of Amphitrope, a shore deme of Antiochis, who is a demesman of Mnesistratos whom Agoratos had accused and a *κηδεστής* of Kritias, one of the Thirty. Through his alliance with the oligarchical leader Hagnodoros is able to get Mnesistratos off, Mnesistratos becomes an informer and when the democrats return they put him to death. But Aristophanes of Cholleidae was spared, although he had once gone surety for Agoratos and had plotted to effect his escape.¹⁰

How does the use of these two *demotika* differ from the simple name? The men are not exactly principals in the case; theirs is a minor part. In each instance there is a story back of it into which the speaker does not go. The chief character of the episode is introduced and its denouement given all in the same sentence.

The relation of Agoratos to his deme is why that *demotikon* is used.¹¹ He has cheated the State, for he uses the courts, sits in the assembly, and conducts public prosecutions, being registered by

⁵ Andocides I, 65. Antiphon, frag. III, 8. See page 50.

⁶ For Andocides see above. Lys. XXX, 10; XXXI, 16; Isocr. XVIII, 10; Dem. XXI, 103, LVII, 37, 38; Aesch. I, 43; Hyp. V, 9; in Isocr. XVIII, 22, the article is put in to avoid hiatus.

⁷ Lysias VI, 54, where the father's name cannot be avoided.

⁸ Lysias XII, 55.

⁹ Lysias XIII, 55.

¹⁰ Lysias XIII, 58.

¹¹ Lysias XIII, 73.

fraud in the deme Anagyros. He is really a slave and has no right to pass himself off as an Athenian. The citizenship was given by the democrats to slaves and foreigners of every description who paid for the privilege, if we are to credit Andocides.¹² From this and XXIII and Dem. XLIV we see how easy it was to register fraudulently in a deme. The penalty was to be sold into slavery. As many of the offenders were slaves anyway this was no great hardship. And if the demesmen could be bribed to admit a man¹³ it would be to their interest to protect him. The deme which thus allowed fraudulent registration was most apt to be a shore deme,¹⁴ just as the deme here is a shore deme.

Mantitheos of Thorikos for whom Lysias wrote a speech is one of the Horse Guards and might be suspected of oligarchic sympathies.¹⁴ So he alludes to his public spirit¹⁵ and proves that he deserves well of his demesmen.¹⁶ He refers to one of the generals as "that high and mighty Steirian,"¹⁷ meaning of course Thrasybulus.

A man's good character as a citizen, one begins to see, depends on his relation to his deme and to—not the Polis—but the democratic party. The prime requisite is to be *εὖνους . . . τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει*.¹⁸ The tyranny of Demos has begun. Not only can a deme be bribed but the speaker of Lysias appeals to the cupidity of his judges.¹⁹

His character as a citizen depends further on the associations he has formed with men of other demes. Thus, in trying to save the property of Aristophanes²⁰ from confiscation by the State, a *κηδεστὴς* of his, who has married his sister, has to show that all the family are good democrats. So he does not fail, in mentioning the men who married his sisters, to give their *demotika*,²¹ Philomelos of Paeania and Phaedros of Myrrhinus, and he himself had married the daughter of Kritodemos of Alopeke. The obligations of the *κηδεστὴς* are prescribed in 34 and 35.

¹² And. II, 23.

¹³ Isaeus XII, I, 2. Aesch. II, 76. Hyp. III, 3. Cf. Harp. s. v. 'Αγασικλῆς.

¹⁴ Lys. XVI.

¹⁵ Lys. XVI, 8.

¹⁶ Lys. XVI, 14.

¹⁷ Lys. XVI, 15.

¹⁸ Lys. XVIII, 6. XXI, 13.

¹⁹ Lys. XVII, 6, 7. Thus Aristophanes (*Knights* 255) jeers at the Triobol clan, meaning the dicasts, whom Cleon has practically bribed to support him.

²⁰ Lys. XIX.

²¹ Lys. XIX, 15.

Marriages are more likely to occur between families of the same tribe and adjacent demes, or demes which belong to the same sections of Attica, or in the same deme. Aristophanes and his *κηδεστής* may have belonged to the same deme.²² Aristophanes' farm in Rhamnus does not indicate membership in that deme.²³ But the speaker mentions no deme for either Aristophanes or himself. This might be taken to indicate that they come from the same deme. And he is shy about mentioning it. Then it must have been an aristocratic deme. Kydathenaeon belongs to the same tribe as Paeania and Myrrhinus and is in the city, practically adjacent to Melite and Alopeke—between them in short.²⁴ Besides, if any man's property was liable to confiscation by the party *ἐκ Πειραιέως* it was a man who lived in a city deme, if his connections were in any way aristocratic. In a speech dealing with an inheritance one would naturally expect an account of all the family connection,²⁵ but here no such matter can be introduced, unless it be for its political advantage; if it strengthens the case against the confiscation of Aristophanes' property it can only be because the demesmen so introduced are known to be democratic and its mention will win the popular approval.

Polystratos although he had been one of the Four Hundred is still a good demesman.²⁶ His father was elected by the tribe because he was *χρηστός ἀνὴρ περὶ τοὺς δημότας καὶ περὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον*. They must not be mad at him because he was a demesman of Phrynichos²⁷—unless they mean to be mad at themselves for being fellow-citizens of the hated oligarch. When his father was chosen to take the census he registered 9,000 (instead of 5,000) so that none of the demesmen could complain of him. And he refers to his demesmen in perfect confidence that they will attest his faithful performance of all his military duties.²⁸

Archestratos of Phrearros²⁹ and Nausimachos of Phaleron are demesmen mentioned by the patriotic trierarch who does not like

²² See page 42.

²³ Lys. XIX, 28.

²⁴ Μελίτη, VII, A. Παιανία III, C. Μυρρινούς III, C. Ἀλωπεκή X A. Ραμνοῦς IX, S. Ἀνάφλυστος X, S. Κυδαθηνάιον III, A. [A=City, C=Country, S=Shore. Roman numerals refer to official list of tribes.]

²⁵ Cf. Dem. XLIII, 19.

²⁶ Lys. XX, 2.

²⁷ Lys. XX, 12, 13. On this cf. Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen* III, 356, n. 1.

²⁸ Lys. XX, 23.

²⁹ I. vs. XXI. 8, 9.

Alcibiades³⁰ and who saved two ships from the enemy after a sea fight, from which only twelve Athenian ships escaped. This Archestratos is one of the generals elected with Thrasylos and Nausimachos commanded one of the ships that were saved and is present to testify to the trierarch's achievement.³¹

The demesmen of Decelleia are brought in to testify against Panceleon³² who claimed to be registered in that deme. The records do not suffice to prove a man's citizenship. They could be tampered with too easily. The register kept by the demarch is useful for selecting men for the navy or for the army or for *liturgies*—or to see if a man is entitled to share in some special privilege within the deme—but to prove a thing so important as citizenship only the living voice can be heard, the demesmen themselves must testify that he is one of them or that he is not.³³ The Decelleians testify that they did not know Panceleon.

In another case³⁴ a man's demesmen and friends appear before the judges and with tears and entreaties seek his acquittal. The speaker is too good a democrat to approve of this. Friendship and the deme-tie must not be allowed to interfere with the bond between citizen and Polis.

Campaign contributions give one a claim on the favor of the democratic party. So one demesman tells of his contributions and also how he had equipped his demesmen.³⁵ But he is refuted³⁶ and it is shown that he went about the country demes making requisitions and robbing the old men whose age alone prevented them from taking up arms against the Thirty.

The members of the Boulê were chosen by demes. Such a man would be spoken of with his *demotikon*; his official position called for it. So Satyros of Kephisia is represented as really acting against the democracy.³⁷

Diotimos, the Acharnian, is called on as a witness³⁸ along with other demesmen in a matter of public interest—the expenditure of the campaign fund.

³⁰ Lys. XXI, 6.

³¹ Lys. XXI, 10.

³² Lys. XXIII.

³³ Lys. XXIII, 3 and 4.

³⁴ Lys. XXVII, 12.

³⁵ Lys. XXXI, 15.

³⁶ Lys. XXXI, 18. Cf. Isocr. *Areop.* 46.

³⁷ Lys. XXX, 10.

³⁸ Lys. XXXI, 16.

Isaeus, in all but one of his speeches—XII—deals with κλήροι, or inheritances. There is never any mention of a family's selling an estate.³⁹ The property is kept in the family as much as possible. The contestants are often of the same family; if it can be shown that one of them is not related to the deceased, the estate will go to the other.

It thus becomes a matter of importance to give the history of the estate and a full account of the family connection. The speaker of oration II has been adopted by Menekles; his object is to establish the legality of his adoption. So he tells the story from the beginning. His father was Ἐπώνυμος ὁ Ἀχαρνεύς⁴⁰ φίλος καὶ ἐπιτήδειος Μενεκλεῖ. They were not then of the same deme. In oration III, as well as oration I, this narrative use of the *demotikon* is not found; they were not the first speeches dealing with those cases and the stories had already been told. Thus the estate in oration IV had already been in litigation six times; the estate in oration V had been up before, but the relationships are given in the narrative.⁴¹ In oration VI the narrative *demotikon* occurs again.⁴² Philoktemon of Paiania adopts his friend Chaerestratos. Oration VII is not the first speech but a defence. The characters have all been made known to the judges already and there is less occasion for *demotika*. But for all that the speaker tells the story Ἀρχέδαμος γὰρ ὁ πάππος οὐμὸς ἐξ Οἴου, the unusual position of the *demotikon* referring to the "cause célèbre" in which Archedamos had defeated Eupolis.⁴³ The inheritance in oration VIII has been the subject of previous speeches; the present speaker therefore traces the cabal to defraud himself and his brother. It all began, he says, with Diokles of Phlya.⁴⁴ In oration IX where we find an old feud there is no introductory *demotikon*. In oration X the speaker begins the narrative by showing to whom he traces his claim and in oration XI, a case which had been in court before, the names alone are used in setting forth the relationship. But in the Demosthenic corpus there is a speech on the same estate as oration XI in which⁴⁵ the speaker with a kind of exasperation starts in and

³⁹ H. E. Seebohm: *Structure of Greek Tribal Society*, p. 83.

⁴⁰ Isaeus II, 3.

⁴¹ Isaeus V, 5 and 26.

⁴² Isaeus VI, 3.

⁴³ Isaeus VII, 7. See Wyse's note.

⁴⁴ Isaeus VIII, 3.

⁴⁵ (Dem.) XLIII, 19.

tells the whole story all over again; and there the *demotikon* is found.

A family maintains itself by marriage and, failing children, by adoption. As the State is interested in the perpetuity of every family, these are matters of public importance and receive official recognition and legal sanction. The *demotikon* is in place wherever a marriage or an adoption is referred to and the parties require an introduction. In oration II three marriages are mentioned; 1. Menekles to the younger daughter of Eponymos of Acharnae; 2. the son of Eponymos, whom Menekles had adopted, marries the daughter of Philonides; 3. the daughter of Eponymos after her divorce from Menekles is given in marriage to Eleios of Sphetos.⁴⁶ In oration V, the four daughters of Menexenos of Kydathenaeon are married to Polyaratos, Demokles of Phrearros, Kephisophon of Paeania, Theopompos,⁴⁷ and Dikaeogenes marries his sister to Protarchides of Potamos. In oration VI, Euktemon of Kephisia marries the daughter of Meixiades of the same deme⁴⁸ and later on threatens to marry the daughter of Demokrates of Aphidna.⁴⁹ In oration VII, the two daughters of Eupolis marry Pronapes and Aeschines of Lousia.⁵⁰ In oration VIII, Kiron gives his daughter in marriage to Nausimenes of Cholargos.⁵¹ In oration IX, Euthykrates of Araphen marries the sister of Hierokles of Iphistiadae⁵² and in oration X, Aristarchos of Sypalletes marries the daughter of Xenaenetos of Acharnae.⁵³ A glance at the stemmata of orations XI and (Dem.) XLIII will show to what an extent marriages took place in the same deme and even in the same family. Thus where the *demotikon* is not given to one of the parties allied by marriage or an adoption the probabilities favor their being both of the same deme.

A transfer of property is also a matter of public interest. Thus in oration II the purchaser of a field forming a part of the disputed estate is introduced by the *demotikon*.⁵⁴

⁴⁶ Isaeus II, 9. It is probable that Menekles, Philonides and Leukolophos all belonged to the deme Acharnae.

⁴⁷ Isaeus V, 5, 26.

⁴⁸ Isaeus VI, 10.

⁴⁹ Isaeus VI, 22.

⁵⁰ Isaeus VII, 18.

⁵¹ Isaeus VIII, 8.

⁵² Isaeus IX, 22.

⁵³ Isaeus X, 4.

⁵⁴ Isaeus II, 29.

In these inheritance cases two principles seem to contend with one another. The very first oration sets them forth. The old laws of property have begun to pass out, it is an age of transition, the new are not without their points of doubtful interpretation. It is possible for property to be separated from the family. And the demesman is in all cases a very important figure since the demetic looks both ways, retaining the fiction of blood relationship. Thus in adoption, the adoptive son is introduced to the *phrateres*, the *demesmen* and the *orgeones*. Of such all may be called as witnesses.⁵⁵ In one case the adopted son is presented to the *gennetae* and the *phrateres* but not yet enrolled among the demesmen.⁵⁶ In oration IX, a man making his will consults his *συγγενεῖς*, *φράτερες*, *δημόται*. In Dem. LVII, 24, one finds four—*συγγενεῖς*, *φράτερες*, *δημόται*, *γεννήται*. A man's citizenship was not complete unless he could prove his membership in three groups—the *γένος*, the *phratry* and the deme.⁵⁷ It would appear that the *συγγενεῖς* could belong to the same phratry⁵⁸ and that they are also *gennetae*.⁵⁹ Isaeus generally mentions *συγγενεῖς* first and *δημόται* last when the three groups are referred to; *δημόται* then will refer to the largest of the three groups. For *gennetae*⁶⁰ can be substituted *orgeones*⁶¹ or *thiasotae*⁶² and the *συγγενεῖς* might all belong to the same phratry.⁶³ Every Athenian besides his deme and his family had to belong to some religious guild and the subdivisions of such a guild or brotherhood would be most conveniently the families associated in its cult.⁶⁴ In oration VII, *συγγενεῖς* appears to be used as synonymous with *gennetae*; in Dem. LVII, 24, they are distinguished apart. How are we to account for this? Thrasyllus who has been adopted by Apollodoros in the latter's lifetime is de-

⁵⁵ Isaeus II, 14, 16, 17.

⁵⁶ Isaeus VII, 43.

⁵⁷ Isaeus IX, 21.

⁵⁸ Dem. LVII, 23.

⁵⁹ Isaeus VII, 27.

⁶⁰ Isaeus VII, 13–15, 17, 26, 43.

⁶¹ Isaeus II, 14, 16, 17, 45.

⁶² Isaeus IX, 30.

⁶³ Isaeus XII, 8. Dem. LVII, 23.

⁶⁴ See p. 10. The terms *γεννήται*, *δργεῶνες*, *θιασῶται*, indicate stages in the social development of the religious corporation. The *θιασος* is much more secular, its fiction of kinship much thinner, and the object of its cult need not be so Attic a god. For this reason in the phratry the *γένος* retained its religious privacy, even though the other corporations are associated in the same worship.

fending himself against a family which had been at odds with Apollodoros and is now claiming his estate. The claimant besides had been adopted by Hippolochides and had lost any right he may have had to the estate by this—if he ever had such a right. In this case the adoption is not open to suspicion, Thrasylos evidently has all the *συγγενείς* on his side—for in his deme the family put through the adoption and had him enrolled among their demesmen after the death of Apollodoros. He calls his tribesmen to witness.⁶⁵ That does not make deme and tribe the same. To him the *συγγενείς* seem about as important as the *gennetae*. It might even have been possible for this particular *γένος* by repeated intermarriage to have made all its *gennetae* actual *συγγενείς*.⁶⁶ Such a thing was more likely to be the case with a *genos* which was jealous of the privileges to which its blood entitled it. We have seen how much intermarriage there was in the family of Bouselos of Oion, and Thrasylos is a grandson of one Archedamos of Oion. If this were *Οἶον Δεκελεικόν* then in such a deme, evidently named after a guild, the *γένος* would have to protect itself against the admixture of baser blood. That the *γένη* felt that way about it no one can doubt. The *Ἐτεοβοντάδαι* prove it. And Cleisthenes' arrangement drove such *γένη* to a greater degree of endogamy because it was rendered more difficult for them to continue their alliances as before. And there may be members of several phratries in a deme whereas formerly it had been just the other way; Cleisthenes' arrangement thus makes the phratry subordinate to the deme in every way that could influence the political situation. And the demesman is now only secondarily a member of a cult organization, unless he belong to one of the aristocratic *γένη*, in which case he will be pushed out of all positions of influence except that of the priesthood of his cult; and it was not long before the priesthood became elective—the more secular organizations leading the way.

The duties of the demesman in his deme are military, social, political and economic. His social duties are to fulfill all such obligations as will conduce to the security, prosperity and happiness of the community. Military duties come first; they are to the

⁶⁵ Isaeus VII, 36.

⁶⁶ Isaeus IX, 8, gives the extension of *οἰκεῖοι* and *συγγενείς* as equivalent to *γεννῆται*. VIII, 32, shows that an *οἶκος* could number four generations.

State, which ranges the demes by tribes.⁶⁷ Athletics figure also: a man can serve in his deme as gymnasiarch.⁶⁸ Cult duties are taken up in the phratry but the community of the deme requires feasts and festivals. Thus the deme demands *liturgies* of the demesman, one of which is to feast the men of his deme.⁶⁹ These liturgies are due from the head of a household and the *phrateres* and the demesmen are interested in their performance.⁷⁰ The demes celebrated the Thesmophoria⁷¹ and a demesman regarded it as a proof of his citizenship that his mother was selected by the wives of her husband's fellow-demesmen to preside at the festival.⁷² In all this matter of feast and festival the deme is associated with the phratry⁷³ for only an Athenian was entitled to their privileges and his claim depended on his secure membership in both phratry and deme. It was easier to obtain ingress into a deme than a phratry—some phratries, that is, where the *γένη* retained their ascendancy—but one could lose his citizenship through the enmity of his demesmen. To be deprived of the citizenship was for the Athenian a terrible misfortune. So it is not surprising that one good demesman should consider it lamentable to be involved in a suit against his own deme.⁷⁴ To have a dispute with your fellow citizens, to be wronged by one of them is bad enough, but he is wronged by his demesmen.⁷⁵ The deme can have litigation with one of its members⁷⁶ and many disputes between men of the same deme and even of a deme against one of its members—can be settled in the deme assembly by the vote of the demesmen.

Thus to deprive a man of the citizenship his enemies may prevail upon the men of his deme to strike him off the deme register. And the reverse is even more the case, that the citizenship may be fraudulently secured by bribing the demesmen.⁷⁷ It was the demarch who would require the largest bribe. The relation of the

⁶⁷ Isaeus II, 42. Theophrastus: *Characters*, XXVII, 27.

⁶⁸ Isaeus II, 42. Theophrastus: *Characters*, XXVII, 27.

⁶⁹ Isaeus III, 80. Theophrastus: *Characters* XXIV, 16.

⁷⁰ Isaeus III, 80.

⁷¹ Cf. Rev. Epig.—1914—II, p. 80.

⁷² Isaeus VIII, 18, 20.

⁷³ Isaeus IX, 21, 33.

⁷⁴ Isaeus f. VII, 4.

⁷⁵ Isaeus f. VII, 4.

⁷⁶ Isaeus f. VII, f. VI and XII. Demosth. LVII.

⁷⁷ Demosthenes: LVII.

demarch to the men of his deme was most important; in the public courts he represented the deme, in the deme he represented the law and was concerned with public order. Thus he had the duty of collecting debts and assessments: old Strepsiades in the *Clouds* finds him quite a nuisance.⁷⁸ The secular administration was largely in the hands of the demarch.

In business affairs the public importance of the transaction regulates the use of the *demotikon* and such matters as wills and one citizen's going surety for another that he will perform duties of public weal are found to require the demesman. It is almost in an official capacity. Thus in oration IX⁷⁹ a will is left in charge of Hierokles of Iphistiadae and in oration V⁸⁰ Mnesiptolemos of Plotheia and Leochares go bail for Dikaeogenes. In such capacity both parties would prefer a member of their own deme, and the omission of the *demotikon* with the name of Leochares is perhaps because he was of the same deme as Dikaeogenes, i. e., Kydathenaeon.

In the value attached to the testimony of witnesses—and it has been indicated how the demesman was among the most indispensable of witnesses—age lends its dignity. The old demesman is regarded as the most reliable witness. Thus in a fragment of the *Speech against Epikrates* special stress is laid on the deposition of Myronides who was the oldest of the demesmen.⁸¹ They are thought to be better informed on the history of the case and their reliability is attested by their years.⁸²

Family,⁸³ property and marriage are much in evidence in Isaeus. In the marriages and transfers of property among the Athenians appears the same duality observed in the outset in this study—the human and the physical sides of local attachment, the gentile principle of the *genos* and the communal principle of the *demos*. The influence of locality is seen in a struggle with the caste feeling, and from the evidence which remains it seems to have triumphed. Marriage became more and more a secular affair, though at the same time it was restricted to the limits imposed by sacred law—that no Athenian might marry beyond the citizen body. And this,

⁷⁸ Aristophanes: *Clouds*, 37.

⁷⁹ Isaeus IX, 5.

⁸⁰ Isaeus V, 18.

⁸¹ Isaeus frag. XII, A, 44.

⁸² Lys. XXIII, 5. Dem. LVII, 59. Aeschines II, 150, cf. also I, 23-24.

⁸³ Cf. Savage: *The Athenian Family*, especially chapter V.

for all their fine words, meant only that they recognized the State as a close corporation.

Of some 126 marriages mentioned in the literature twenty-four are indeterminate with respect to the *demotikon*. In 102, however, the *demotikon* of each party could be ascertained. The State is not here concerned with the individuals; marriage is an alliance between families; and with the Athenian it is a means of advancing his political and social influence and bettering his exchequer. The wife was a chattel but her dowry secured for her fair treatment and in the case of a dispute between her *κύριος* and her husband, her *κύριος* could take her back to his household or if she became an heiress⁸⁴ the next of kin might claim her hand. In twenty-six of these marriages the families belong to the same deme, that is, over one-fourth, and in thirty-seven to the same tribe, over one-third. The number of marriages between families already related must have been very large and often there is found a family in which there is excessive intermarrying. This is due to poverty and pride; and the influence of caste will be strongest in the inland demes. In the city and among shore demes neighbors will intermarry more and more—which may have been one of the results anticipated by Cleisthenes when he based the State on the *δῆμος* to the disadvantage of the *γένος*. The new order would most inconvenience those families which looked back to the old régime, for their former friends would now be in other tribes and phratries and they would be less apt to contract marriages in the same tribe, in which they now found themselves under the new arrangement. Look for marriages between members of the country demes of the same tribe. They are scarce.

Thus some of the best blood in the State was isolated, for the citizenship was now so limited that they could not, as they had formerly been privileged to do, marry into aristocratic families in other states. Such marriages had produced some of the greatest men of Athens and such intermarriage as the restriction of the citizenship compels means a decline. For there was no prohibition of marriage inside the tribe, inside the deme, inside the *γένος* nor inside the family. A man was forbidden to marry his mother's daughter but a niece he could marry—as this would keep the property in the family.

⁸⁴ Isaeus III, 50. See Wyse's note. Plato, *Laws* 924, *Polit.* 310.

The city families had position; the shore demes produced families of wealth. The tide set in towards the city. The demes near the city were naturally the first to ally themselves with city demes, especially with Kydathenaëon,⁸⁵ and then came in the men from the country demes and finally from the shore demes. It is in the city that marriages between relatives occur most frequently. This custom⁸⁵ is a survival of the time when the γένος was an actual community and when such a thing as the "undivided household" was an integral part of social organization and property was held in common.

Property may be classified as land and chattel property. The theories of the primitive village community make everything belong to the common stock. Articles of personal use and adornment could hardly have been passed about to equalize their possession; weapons least of all. Land was held in common. By Homer's time they had passed beyond that.⁸⁶ And chattel property was the first to become heritable.⁸⁷ The regulations on marriage, especially those which have to do with the "next of kin," show that property belonged to the family rather than to the individual and back of it all lay the claim of the State to ultimate ownership. Thus men were judged by the city at large as good or bad citizens according to their administration of their own estates. Timarchos had squandered his, therefore he was a bad citizen;⁸⁸ Theaetetos of Sunium inherited a considerable fortune and this was considered to be a proof of his father's good character.⁸⁹ In the *Clouds* the Attic patriot, Pasion, thinks it an injury to his country for him to give out any monies from his estate, except under the compulsion of a law-suit.⁹⁰ The State demanded as qualifications for its highest offices that a man have these two ties to his country—marriage and property. A man could not become *strategos* unless he were married and possessed an estate in Attica.⁹¹

⁸⁵ If Cleisthenes had put another city deme in the same tribe, could the city γένη thus have controlled that tribe? Such was the population, political power, and prestige of this city deme.

⁸⁶ Homer: *Iliad* XXIII, 832-835.

⁸⁷ Homer: *Iliad* V. 158.

⁸⁸ Cf. οὐσίαν ἀνέμνητον in (Dem.) XLIV, 10. Aesch. 1, 102. See Jevons, Kin and Custom in *Journal of Philology* XVI, 103, where he quotes Harp. Κοινωνικός, etc.

⁸⁹ Plat. *Theaet.* 144 C.

⁹⁰ Arist.: *Clouds* 1220.

⁹¹ Lys. XXIV, 13. Poll. 8, 97. Etym. Mag. s. v. ἀφελής. (Dem.) LIX, 75. Dein. I, 71.

Inside this came the claim of the deme. An estate ought not to be inherited by a man of another deme and tribe.⁹² Men from another deme were obliged to pay a tax to the deme in which they held property⁹³ and taxes were assessed by demes.⁹⁴ On the death of its owners an estate could revert to the deme and estates owned by the deme could be leased to members of that deme or to others for certain specified periods.⁹⁵

Thus the family, so far as property is concerned, is a unit in the deme just as the deme is a unit in the State—this is the secular side; but it is the first obligation of the family to maintain its cult from the proceeds of its estate and here the phratry is the link. The behavior of the demesmen in Isaeus has been true to these two principles and has brought them out with greater distinctness. So with the rest of the Orators we find the same leading factors.

Thus Lycurgus in the prosecution of Leochares tells how he disposed of his estate when he fled to Megara and deserted the State. The men who take over this estate are given a *demotikon*—Antigenes of Xypete and Amyntas who might have been of the same deme, as he married his sister, and again Timochares of Acharnae and his brother-in-law Lysikles. The money is sent on to Leochares in the care of Philomelos of Cholargos and Menelaos. And there are no more *demotika* mentioned in this speech. But the oath which was taken by every Athenian when he was entered upon the register of his deme is given in § 77. The men mentioned in connection with Leochares are from city and country demes. Their politics it is easy to comprehend.

Isokrates mentions two demesmen: Νικόμαχος Βατῆθεν and Φίλων ὁ ἐκ Κοίλῃς.⁹⁶ The official form is used in the first and the popular in the second (to avoid hiatus?). There is a lacuna after the first but the second was a formal defendant in a case which the State did not prosecute. Wherever a man is mentioned in connection with the law his *demotikon* is appropriate. The epideiktic orator will, therefore, make little use of the demesman.

⁹² Dem. XLIII, 64.

⁹³ (Dem.) L, 8. Cf. Aristophanes, *Knights* 925.

⁹⁴ (Dem.) L, 8.

⁹⁵ Roberts-Gardner: *Introd. Gk. Epig.* II, p. 371, no. 129.

⁹⁶ Isocr. XVIII, 10, 22.

Demosthenes uses the *demotikon* with as much variety as Isaeus. It occurs most of course in the private speeches,⁹⁷ for in the deliberative speech there is little place for the demesman except where he is introduced or characterized by his *demotikon*, since the public speech is concerned more with the business of the State and as *πολίτης* the citizen can be directly related to the State. The *demotikon* Παιανιεύς, in Aeschines' oration against Ktesiphon, illustrates this⁹⁸ and the three *demotika* in Demosthenes' reply are significant.⁹⁹ Philokrates, the Hagnusian, is mentioned as an associate of Aeschines—but "he has nothing in common with me," the orator is quick to say.¹⁰⁰ Again, Aeschines and the speaker are contrasted by their deme names, there being in this a sort of characterization. The *demotikon* is personal anywhere, as is shown from Aristophanes; its application may often become personality.

The demesman appears in Demosthenes in lists—the simplest way of introducing names. The fact of the list insures the short form; the father's name may be omitted. The tribes listed their members by demes. The official form is, therefore, the short form, since the State uses the tribe as an administrative unit wherever feasible. When the tribe is concerned with internal affairs a man will have his full name but neither the law nor business took cognizance of such niceties. So arbitrators,¹⁰¹ judges¹⁰² and witnesses to a deposition,¹⁰³ though in legal forms the freer form with the article may be retained.¹⁰⁴ In his public life the Athenian is still a demesman whether a candidate for office¹⁰⁵ or a member of the Boulê.¹⁰⁶ Members of the Boulê would be designated by their

⁹⁷ The relative occurrence of deme names and *demotika* in Demosthenes is shown in the following table:

	Deliberative	Public Prosecutions	Private Speeches
δημοτικά	3	23	32
Demes	21	15	4
δημότης	1	0	18

⁹⁸ Aesch. III, 171, 172.

⁹⁹ Dem. XVIII, 21, 129, 180.

¹⁰⁰ Dem. XVIII, 21.

¹⁰¹ Dem. XX, 146, XXI. 83; XL. 16.

¹⁰² Dem. XXXIX. 10.

¹⁰³ Dem. XXVII. 14. But esp. LIV. 31.

¹⁰⁴ Dem. XXI, 62, 64, 103; XXIV, 139; XXXIX, 37; XL, 16; LIV, 31; LVII, 43, 68, 69.

¹⁰⁵ Dem. XXI. 200.

¹⁰⁶ Dem. XXII, 40; XXIII, 13; XXIV, 71; XXXIX, 10.

demotika.¹⁰⁷ In fact this might be one of the chief uses of the deme-name.¹⁰⁸

In private life marriage and property are, as we have seen in Isaeus, of the most concern to the State. Demosthenes is not so full as Isaeus of information in these things; just as in Isaeus demesmen are mentioned in accounts of marriages;¹⁰⁹ and in business deals the demesmen figure also, for these might come up before the courts [a possibility not to be neglected] for interpretation.¹¹⁰ In public life the *demotika* are of less consequence and appear chiefly in introductions. A demesman who is involved in a law-suit or a public prosecution is made known to the larger audience as it were; this audience is the city at large, the *πολιται*. Thus the demesman is introduced in a narrative, in a short allusion to an episode, or the allusion may have characterization for its purpose.¹¹¹

Orations XXXIX and XL present two demesmen of Thorikos contending for the same name—and the same estate¹¹²—and oration LVII gives the history of a cabal gotten up against a former demarch of Halimus by the men of his deme to oust him from the citizenship.¹¹³ A cabal of this kind would not have stood such a chance of success in a larger deme¹¹⁴ but the smaller demes were more exposed to corrupt practices.

In military and naval affairs, as in taxation, Demosthenes like Isaeus shows the deme as the administrative unit. By demes the men are enlisted and contributions levied. Thus catalogues of the demesmen and returns of sailors are made by the demarchs and *bouleutai*¹¹⁵—and a trierarch draws his supplies from his own deme as a rule.¹¹⁶

Aeschines in his Oration against Timarchos has given us a series of episodes linked together to give a characterization of Timarchos.

¹⁰⁷ Dem. XXII, 40. Cf. Lys. XXX, 10.

¹⁰⁸ (Dem. XXI, 62.)

¹⁰⁹ Dem. XXII, 60; XXVII, 4. Dem. XXIX, 48. Dem. LVII, 38, 41.

¹¹⁰ Dem. XVII, 56; XL, 6;

¹¹¹ *Episode* Dem. XXI, 62, 64, 174, 208 (?); LIV, 7, 10. *Narrative*, XLI, 3; LVII, 37. *Characterization*, XVIII, 180.

¹¹² Dem. XXXIX, 6.

¹¹³ Dem. LVII, 8.

¹¹⁴ Dem. LVII, 56, 57.

¹¹⁵ [Dem.] L, 6.

¹¹⁶ [Dem.] L, 7. This trierarch is disliked by the men of his deme and they fail him. But he owns property in three demes and the State assesses him threefold. Cf. Aristoph.: *Knights*, 925.

In each of them a demesman may appear if not already known with his *demotikon*.¹¹⁷

In Hypereides it happens that we find reference made to demesmen to whom the Athenians had meted out quick justice, or should have done so in the opinion of the speechwright. These references are legal allusions, references to some *γραφὴ παρανόμων*.¹¹⁸ But the demesmen appear also in a business capacity, going security for a friend¹¹⁹ or taking charge of a written contract.¹²⁰ And in oration IV a demesmen of Aphidna is reproached for being an oligarch and a traitor, when he belongs to such a deme which enjoys special immunities from the State, and he ought to be all the more worthy of such ancestors as Harmodius and Aristogeiton.

Deinarchos introduces the demesman in episode ¹²¹ and uses the *demotikon* also in mentioning members of the Boulē.¹²²

¹¹⁷ Aesch. I, 41, 43, 53, 54 (Hegesander is known), 56, 62, 63, 64, 65 (he calls a witness), 98 (a demesman purchases a piece of property), 100 (a man of Timarchos' own deme is called upon to testify against him), so too 104, (the witness here is his uncle), 110, 114. (Cf. Dem. LVII and Lys. XXIII), 156 (introduction of demesman), 157, 158 (legal—reference to a suit before the Archon), 172.

¹¹⁸ Hyp. I, 26, 13; III, 3, 26. Cf. III, 12, 34; IV, 35.

¹¹⁹ Hyp. V. 9, 20.

¹²⁰ Hyp. V. 9.

¹²¹ Dein. I, 23³

¹²² Dein. I, 38 (Thrason of Erchia is mentioned in company with three other citizens. It can hardly be that the *demotika* are omitted because these men were so well known. Otherwise—cf. sec. 43—how many men must have been well known. In sec. 58 Polyeuktos of Kydantidae is evidently a *βουλευτής*; and possibly so was Thrason, as well as Kephalos of Kollytos, who is mentioned in company with Archinos.

CHAPTER VII

THE SOCIAL UNITY OF THE DEME

It appears, then, that the reorganization of the Athenian constitution by Cleisthenes, though a piece of party politics as well as the work of an astute statesman, was a shifting of the foundations of government from the gentile towards the geographic principle. The effect of this upon the life of the citizens has been indicated from the picture given by Aristophanes and the Orators. It remains to see more definitely what the effect of the local principle is upon the demesman in his capacity of citizen and private individual and to illustrate the application of this principle by some cases in which the demesman plays a conspicuous rôle. There is more in the deme than its religious, political and commercial sides: it has a social unity and the tie which unites the demesmen is a social bond. Demesmen who lead the common life, who have so many mutual interests and obligations, will not only feel a very keen interest in the welfare of its members and the prosperity of their deme but the State through its courts is able to insure for every citizen the performance of those social services that he owes his deme if he is to be a *πολίτης χρηστός*

The demesman is bound to his deme from birth till death, and even after death. For membership in a deme is a social bond which rests upon the twofold basis of the gentile fiction and the local fact. A citizen is born in the deme of his father. He is educated with the other boys of his tribe.¹ As an ephebe he is enrolled in the *ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον* and is entitled to inherit in the deme—he becomes a citizen. On the deme registration depends his right of military and public duties and privileges. His services to the State are directed by the deme and the tribe, both the services of his person and his property, the tribe concerning itself chiefly with the person, the deme with the property.

When a citizen enters upon any public office as he comes from a deme it is important that the deme be known:² his military service is a public service of as much consequence as his presence in the Court or the Assembly.³

¹ Dem. XXXIX and XL.

² Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 63.

³ Lys. XVI, 14; XX, 23; XXXI, 16, 18. Isaeus II, 42. Dem. XLVII, 22: L, 6 and 7.

The demesman received from the State a part of the public wealth in public distributions,⁴ the *θεωρικόν*, *μισθος ἐκκλησιαστικός* and *μισθὸς δικαστικός*. And other distributions could be made in the marketplace of the demes.⁵

Before the courts the demesman is known by his *demotikon*.⁶ It is chiefly as principal in some suit that it is most essential for him to establish beyond the shadow of a doubt his status as a citizen and member of a deme.⁷ It is in some public prosecutions that he appears most concerned with public affairs,⁸ but as a witness he is of the greatest service⁹ and he is much consulted on questions of citizenship.¹⁰

In the business world the demesman is equally at home. He buys and rents lands and houses,¹¹ his name is required on contracts¹² and enters into loans and debts, whenever the history of the transaction has to be given.¹³ He may go surety for a friend, who is most probably of the same deme,¹⁴ although the business world less than the political is affected by the obligation of the local principle. In it a *φίλος* need be neither *κηδεστής* nor *δημότης*, it is a field in which men consult their own advantage and a *φίλος* is *ἐπιτήδειος*.

One indication of the solidarity of the deme, which resists the disintegrating effects of this commercial spirit, is the prejudice against the ownership of land by an outsider.¹⁵ He is therefore compelled to pay a tax on all property he may come to possess in the deme. His interests may often be different or even directly opposed to those of the community. Then, too, a man will hesitate to part with his ancestral estate since on his deme, and his registration in it,

⁴ Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 27, 4; 28, 3. Dem. XLIV, 37, 38. Hyp. I, 26, 13.

⁵ Roberts-Gardner, *Introd. Gk. Epig.* II, 211.

⁶ Dem. XXXIX, 10, 37. Father's name here also.

⁷ Isaeus III, 2; VIII, 3. Dem. LVII.

⁸ Dem. XXI, 103. Aristoph. *Wasps*, 895. Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 31, 4.

⁹ Isaeus II, 45; VI, 10. Lys. XXIII, 4; XXXI, 16. Dem. LVII, 21, 23, 24, 40, 69. Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 59, 12. On witnesses in general see Isaeus III, 19 ff. and cf. Lys. XXIII, 3 ff. Also Isaeus IX, 18, where the witnesses will not testify against a demesman.

¹⁰ Lys. XXIII.

¹¹ Isaeus II, 29. Dem. LIII, 13. Aesch. I, 98. Hyp. V, 3.

¹² Hyp. V, 8.

¹³ Dem. XXXVII, 4.

¹⁴ Isaeus V, 18.

¹⁵ The basis of this is the gentile principle and their association in the local cult.

depends his citizenship. When a demesman wastes his paternal inheritance, as Timarchos of Sphettos did,¹⁶ or sells it outright, as Leokrates did,¹⁷ he is a bad citizen, unmindful of his duty to the State. So the demesman will rather endeavor to increase his property in the deme¹⁸ and when he is obliged to adopt a son will prefer one of his own deme and so, too, in a will¹⁹ his object will be to have a kinsman and demesman inherit.²⁰ But this is not always the case and it came about that since the demes are divisions of the citizen body as well as local districts they could include residents from other demes in their property census. A certain Aristophanes of a city deme, possibly Kydathenaeon, has a small property at Rhamnus.²¹ Hagnias of Oion owns land in Araphen,²² Phaenippos who has been adopted by his father-in-law, a demesman of Kolonê, owns property in Kytheros,²³ Apollodoros, son of Pasion of Acharnae, is returned in three demes,²⁴ Timarchos of Sphettos owns property in Alopeke, which probably came from his mother's family,²⁵ and Alcibiades of Scambonidae has property in Erchia.²⁶ But as a rule the demesman aims to retain his estate in his own deme, although he may threaten to marry or to adopt a son outside the deme in order to annoy his relatives.²⁷ Outside possessions are secondary. The deme links him to the State and he will make that bond as secure as he can. For he inherits the obligations of his *οἶκος* to the State as well as the property²⁸ which may descend with the name.²⁹ For the *κληρος* is ultimately a part of the public domain and belongs to the State, which makes possible the security and

¹⁶ Aeschines I.

¹⁷ Lycurgus I, 22, folw.

¹⁸ Isaeus VIII, 35. Dioklea of Phlys is trying to get control of an estate part of which is in his own deme. Cf. VIII, 3.

¹⁹ Isaeus VI, 3. But adoption is not limited to demesmen. Roberts-Gardner II, no. 384.

²⁰ Dem. XXVII, 4; XXXVI, 8; XI, 64, 111; XLIV, 26, 28.

²¹ Lys. XIX, 28.

²² Dem. XLIII, 70.

²³ Dem. XLII, 5. The father-in-law's deme was Kolonê or Kolonai, not Kolonos.

²⁴ Dem. L, 8. His father willed his widow to his demesman. XXXVI, 8.

²⁵ Aesch. I, 107.

²⁶ Plato, *Alcib.* I, 123. Cf. Thucyd. VI, 92, in which Alcibiades speaks of his "love of country."

²⁷ Isaeus VI, 22.

²⁸ Dem. XLIV. Isaeus VII, 30. Lysias XIV, 30.

²⁹ Isaeus II, 36.

prosperity of the οἶκος³⁰ and Pasiās in the *Clouds*³¹ is really overzealous about this—being perhaps a new citizen.

Being as has been seen neighbor and friend, the demesman is often appealed to and for everything from criticism and advice to sympathy and assistance.³² Thus Admetus is afraid of what his demesmen will say;³³ and there was a moral obligation to help a fellow demesman.³⁴ Upon a man's activity in such matters depends his standing in his own deme and in the State. As Cimon had shown by his generosity to his demesmen, this was the avenue to political influence.³⁵ Demesmen and tribesmen will be active in their mutual interests,³⁶ the goodwill of the men of one's deme is highly desirable and it is a contemptible thing to give evidence against a fellow demesman.³⁷

Two of the best qualifications of a friend are that he is one's ἡλικιώτης and δημότης—like the λάρκος in the *Acharnians*, as well as the more serious Kritō to Socrates.³⁸ And there is a reverse to the picture. One's very worst enemies can be one's demesmen³⁹ and the most annoying can be one's neighbors,⁴⁰ so that a feud in a deme is likely to become a very lively affair.⁴¹

³⁰ Lys. XIV, 30.

³¹ Aristoph. *Clouds*, 1219.

³² Aristoph. *Acharnians* 318, 327, *Clouds* 1328. *Lysistrata* 685. *Ekkleisiazusae* 1023, 1115. *Plutus* 254, 322. Cf. Lys. XXVII, 12.

³³ Eurip. *Alcestis* 1057. The effect of δημόται here may be comic.

³⁴ Lys. XIII, 55. Dem. XL, 52. Cf. XXXV, 6. Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 27, 14. Aesch. I, 63. Plat. *Theages* 121 D. Plut. *Cimon* X, 482.

³⁵ Aristoph. *Peace* 919. *Clouds* 1210. Lys. XVI, 8. XX, 2, 12, 13. Aesch. II, 150. Plat. *Theages* 127 E. Arist. *Αθ. πολ.* 27; Plut. *Cimon* X.

³⁶ Aristoph. *Acharnians* 332. Lys. XXVII, 12. (Tribesmen). Dem. I, 21, 47, XXIX, 23.

³⁷ Dem. LII, 28.

³⁸ Plato *Apol.* 35 D, *Laches* 180 C and D.

³⁹ Isaeus XII, Aristoph. *Clouds* 1219.

⁴⁰ Isaeus IX, Dem. LVII, and Plato in his *Laws* 843-844 gives careful directions for legal remedies to prevent the annoyances caused by neighbors. Cf. Hesiod, *Works and Days* 335-361.

⁴¹ Even between certain of the demes there appear to have been feuds at one time due chiefly to the rivalry of the great families for political ascendancy as the deme is often controlled by one family (J. H. Wright in *Harvard Studies* III, 71 and VIII, 20). The feud of the Lycomidae and the Alcmaeonidae led to enmity between Phlya and Agraulē and the feud of the Alcmaeonidae with the Paeonidae set their demes at variance (the Alcmaeonidae controlled more than one deme). That these feuds were between neighbors and kindred clans far from diminishing rather increased their bit-

A further indication of the solidarity of the deme appears in the use of the *demotikon* in characterization. Characterization rests on the local principle. The states of Hellas are characterized according to local variation.⁴² And it is very often to make unfavorable comparisons as the stories about Seriphos show.⁴³ Location and the character of its registration will determine the character of a deme and the reputation that will attach itself to the members of the deme. Thus Potamos, Suniun and Halimus were not in good repute. The Acharnians are noted for their bravery in war,⁴⁴ the Prospaltians for their litigiousness,⁴⁵ and perhaps its informers had given to Aixone that reputation for a deme of slanderers which Laches wished to disclaim.⁴⁶ That such a characterization is common enough is shown by the deme Kompase which Aristophanes invents for Proxenides the Braggart.⁴⁷ And one may infer from the fact of such plays as the *Δῆμοι* of Eupolis and the *Δημόται* of Hermippos that a general character was recognized as belonging to the demes. Locality determined this. For the distinction aimed at was a distinction between city and country.

terness. Thus the Peisistratidae whenever they conquered the Alcmaeonidae razed their dwellings and dug up their graves (Isocrates XVI, 25). Pallênê and Hagnus were hostile demes in the time of Theseus (Plut. Thes. 13 and for discussion A. M. XVI, 206). With the new order of Cleisthenes it was harder for the old feuds to persist between demes. Rather they are moved inside the deme where in the fiercer political rivalry between individuals if two men happen to be of the same deme it will sharpen their enmity or strengthen their friendship, depending, of course, upon the character of the deme. Thus Isocrates and Xenophon, who were of the same deme, Erchia, must certainly have disliked each other but their dislike is restrained (This was consonant with the character of the deme as well as with their own. Cf. Young, *Erchia* 48. For the literary feud between them see Ivo Bruns, *Das Literarische Porträt der Griechen* 126 ff., 132 ff., 138. See also Teichmüller, *Litterarische Fehden im 4. Jahrhundert vor Christus*). With Cleon and Aristophanes, who were of the deme Kydathenaeon, the hostility is somewhat more evident (Brunns, op. cit. 173-176, 428.) and it was a man of his own deme, Demades, who endeavored to supplant Demosthenes of Paeania in his leadership of the Athenians and who was one of the leaders of the opposing party.

⁴² Dion. Hal. *Ars. Rhet.* XI, 5. On all this see Haussoulier *La Vie Municipale en Attique*. 196-200.

⁴³ Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 542, Plato, *Rep.* 329 E.

⁴⁴ Pindar, *Nem.* II. Aristoph. *Acharnians* 675.

⁴⁵ Plato, *Cratylus* 396 D. Suidas and *Etym. Mag.* v. Προσπαλτ. See M. Carroll, *The Athens of Aristophanes in Studies in Honor of Professor Gildersleeve*, p. 244.

⁴⁶ Plat. *Laches* 197 C. Harp. v. Αἰξωνήσω Suid. Αἰξωνελα.

⁴⁷ Aristoph. *Birds* 1126 and Schol. on same. There is characterization also in Lys. XVI, 15. Dem. XVIII, 180. Aesch. III, 194.

Δῆμοι probably meant the country demes,⁴⁸ Δημόται the country demesmen.

The feeling of the social bond of the deme is very much alive in the sketches of Attic life given by Plato in his dialogues. One man who claims descent from the founder or ἀρχηγέτης of his deme writes a poem to show what good friends his noble ancestor used to be with Herakles, which was, as we have seen quite in line with the religious character to which the deme aspired in imitation of the γένος;⁴⁹ the association of the demesmen in a common cult is a means, it is to be presumed, of their becoming better acquainted with one another;⁵⁰ a man who has neglected to consult his demesman in planning his son's education is advised to correct the omission;⁵¹ and Socrates points to his friend and demesman in court with his other friends there present as witnesses of his entire innocence and respectability.⁵² That a citizen is honored by his demesmen is mentioned as of equal importance with the fact that he is honored by the city too;⁵² and another citizen, whose demesmen have been to town and brought back to him all the latest news, cannot rest until he shall have found a sophist to make him wise

⁴⁸ Aristophanes, *Clouds* 966, seems to indicate that certain parts of the city were called κῶμαι and their inhabitants κωμηταί. So, too, Lys. 5. Sauppe (*De demis urbanis Ath.* p. 11) cites this and also Isoc. VII, 46, from which it seems the city demes were called κῶμαι, the country districts δῆμοι. Of course, technically, the demes were in the city as well as in the country, but in popular speech the city districts being really all inhabited in all their parts could very properly be called κῶμαι; whereas the country districts included villages and village domain under the one word δῆμος. The city districts were actually κῶμαι; the κώμη and the δῆμος of the country did not coincide. See p. 5. Haussoulér explains that the κῶμαι are subdivisions of the city demes, *quartiers* as the French say, and that they made it easier to police the city (*La Vie Municipale en Attique*, p. 183). Cf. Photius, s. v. κώμην. In a decree of the deme Scambonidae (See Roberts-Gardner, *Introd. Gk. Epig.* II, 211) a κώμαρχος is mentioned, and the editors note that Attica was divided into κῶμαι as well as demes, adding, Why not say that the words were interchangeable? But Scambonidae was a city deme, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the city demes were first organized as demes by Cleisthenes and the country demes politically defined as elements in the government. Then the city districts could very easily continue to be called κῶμαι rather than δῆμοι, and δῆμοι would more naturally be taken to refer to the country demes. See Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, page 108 and Botsford, *Athenian Constitution*, pp. 83 and 85-86.

⁴⁹ *Lysis* 205 D. See further A. Lang, *The World of Homer*, pp. 154-160.

⁵⁰ *Laches* 180 C.

⁵¹ *Laches* 180 D.

⁵² *Theages* 127 E.

also.⁵³ And the deme is, in Plato's mind, an essential element in the ideal state; for he thinks that the number of phratries should be commensurate with that^l of the δῆμοι and κῶμαι,⁵⁴ and that the citizen should be designated by his father's name, tribe name, and the name of the deme to which he belonged.⁵⁵

⁵³ *Theages* 121 D.

⁵⁴ *Laws* 746 D.

⁵⁵ *Laws* 753 C.

CHAPTER VIII

THUCYDIDES AND RETROSPECT

In Aristophanes the demes are seen from the Theatre, in the Orators from the Bema—both inside the State. To give the picture its proper historical perspective a view from the outside is demanded. Such is to be found in Thucydides who wrote his history from the outside. It is the citizen, not the demesman, who plays his part in the stirring, bitter story. So Thucydides does not use the term *δημότης* at all nor the *demotikon* with proper names; the *ethnikon* was naturally more in-keeping or else the father's name. The story was written for all Hellas, not merely for an Attic audience. Local politics, local distinctions would have been out of place. Besides, the deme arrangement in the first place was not only a division of the land of Attica but of the citizen body. It is true that the first enrollment had been made according to residence but each citizen's descendants remained in the deme in which he had been registered, no matter what their residence might be. During the Peloponnesian war the citizens became still further separated from their demes; the *demotikon* had become practically equal to the gentile name, which it had originally displaced.

There are several demes mentioned but it is their military importance in nearly every case and the largest of the demes, Acharnai, naturally receives most attention, from the Lacedaemonians as well as the historian.¹ This is also the sole *demotikon* used and it is the deme which is meant. Thucydides mentions the following demes: Acharnae 6, Dekeleia 14, Eleusis 5, Thorikos 1, Thria 2, Kerameikos 2, Kolonos 1, Kropidai 1, Marathon 4, Oinoe 7, Peiraeus 30, Prasiai 1, Sunium 2, Phaleron 1—14 localities. This includes six of the twelve fortified posts in Attica—Oinoe, Eleusis, Anaphlystos, Peiraeus, Sunium, Thorikos, Rhamnus, Aphidna, Phyle, Dekeleia, Anagyrus, Panakton (this is not a deme). It includes also the chief secular deme, Peiraeus the port of Athens, and the chief religious deme, Eleusis.

Acharnai and Thria, Kropidai and Oinoe are demes that fall in the way of the Lacedaemonian invasion, Dekeleia the invaders

¹ Thuc. II, 19, 2. 20, 1, 5. 21, 2. 23, 1., the deme. II, 20, 4. 21, 3., the demesmen. In the fourth century this deme supplied 22 *βουλευταί* (out of the 50 of its tribes). I G II, 868.

fortify in the second part of the war, following the advice of Alcibiades and establishing a garrison there so that this deme gave its name to that part of the war, there is a special assembly of the people at Kolonos, Marathon is still a magic name to invoke the spirit of the *Μαραθωνομάχαι* who drove back the Persians, Phaleron and Peiraeus are the termini of the Long Walls, and the Peiraeus figures in still more important connections, Sunium, Thorikos and Prasiai are given a certain prominence by the activities of the Spartan fleet, and the Kerameikos here is the Outer Kerameikos where the State honours its heroic dead.

It is only in connection with the Peiraeus that anything basic is to be found. Thucydides' own deme, Halimus, lay next to it and he must have known the Peiraeus and disliked it for what it represented.² But his history is coldly impartial. It was the beginning of the power of Athens,³ the dream of Themistokles made actual; if the Athenians everywhere else met defeat they could go down to the Peiraeus and stand off the whole world. Themistokles came from a shore deme, Phrearros down by Sunium. The Lacedaemonians are encouraged to make their attempt on the Peiraeus,⁴ the capture of the Long Walls and the Peiraeus⁵ dates a part of the history. When the Athenians hear of the defeat in Sicily their first anxiety is for the Peiraeus;⁶ when the Four Hundred are in power at Athens the fleet at Samos is eager to sail at once to the Peiraeus⁷ to restore the democracy,⁸ and the oligarchs fortify Eetioneia, the mole of the Peiraeus⁹ so as to admit the Lacedaemonians. The City and the Peiraeus are the rallying points of the opposing factions but they clash first at the Peiraeus,¹⁰ the new fortifications are demolished and it is only on the approach of the enemy that the Athenians forget their domestic strife.¹¹ Even the loss of Euboea would not shake them so deeply as the capture of the Peiraeus.¹²

² For he hated Cleon the chief exponent of its policy. A. J. P. XXIV, 376.

³ Thuc. I, 93, 3, 5, 7.

⁴ Thuc. II, 94, 1, 2, 34.

⁵ Thuc. V, 26, 1.

⁶ Thuc. VIII, 1, 2.

⁷ Thuc. VIII, 82, 1, 2.

⁸ Thuc. VIII, 86, 4.

⁹ Thuc. VIII, 90, 3.

¹⁰ Thuc. VIII, 92, 6, 9, 10.

¹¹ Thuc. VIII, 94, 3.

¹² Thuc. VIII, 96, 3.

For a deme to rise to a position so overbalancing in the State was something on the consequences of which Cleisthenes had not reckoned. And the country demes were at the same time diminished in importance by the devastation of the Peloponnesian War and the flight of their inhabitants to the City and the shelter of the Long Walls. There must have resulted confusions in the deme registers and the tie between deme and demesman weakened and the country demes had largely lost their position in the State as a conservative factor in Athenian life. A rapidly increasing proletariat and unlimited democracy really meant the end of the demesman as an institution. To Xenophon who wrote a continuation of the history of Thucydides the term *δημότης* had come to mean countryman and the larger political importance of the demes declined. It is clear enough from the narrative of Thucydides how the Peiraeus which had begun by being only the commercial outlet of the City, fostered by its trade-guilds, its population augmented by ever larger numbers of metics, came to control ultimately the policies of the State. The drama of the Peloponnesian War might be viewed from a seat in the Theatre at Munychia.

APPENDIX I

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DEMOTIKON

Before Cleisthenes the Athenians were known by their father's name and patronymic, or clan name, if they belonged to a noble gens. In the second Nemean Pindar gives the form Τιμόδημος Τιμονόου Τιμοδημίδης¹ and as many of the demes received their names from their dominant *genos*,² for many Athenians like Ανκοῦργος Ἀριστολήδου Βουτάδης³ and the Λακιάδαι there was really no change of name beyond the omission, only in official mention be it noted, of the father's name.⁴ And there were at least thirty-two such demes in Attica.⁵ Besides -δης the most frequent suffix was -εως. Therefore Aristophanes uses it when he coins a *demotikon* Κομπασεύς.⁶ Other *demotikas* are formations in -ιος, e. g., Ἀφιδναῖος, Ποτάμιος.⁷ In the case of some demesmen the adverbial form is used, e. g., Κολωνῆθεν, not Κωλωναῖος; in the case of others the preposition, e. g., ἐξ Οἴου, and where women are mentioned the *demotikon* given is that of the father or husband.⁸

By making the name of the deme part of the name of the citizen it was easy for any man to make good his claim to be an Athenian by giving his *demotikon*, even though the name of his father [if he happened to have one and if he were an ex-slave he would not have an *Athenian* father], might be foreign or unfamiliar. Thus was accomplished the purpose of Cleisthenes [notice the demes in -ιδης are chiefly inland or city demes] ἵνα μὴ πατρόθεν προσαγορεύοντες ἐξελέγχωσι τοὺς νεοπολίτας, and the patronymic was replaced by the *demotikon*.⁹ The official style [name and *demotikon*] is often used by the orators and it is only in the fourth century that the father's name gains a place in official forms.¹⁰ In the inscriptions name and

¹ Cf. Plato *Hipparchos* 228 B. Peisistratos son of Hipparchos of the Philaadae.

² Cf. A. J. A. 1889, 313, citing Töpffer *Attische Genealogie* p. 289. Cf. also C. W. Peppler, *Comic Terminations in Aristophanes*, (J. H. U. Diss.) p. 46.

³ The *genos* changed its name to Ἐτεοβουτάδαι.

⁴ Cf. Wyse's note on Isaeus VI, 9.

⁵ Cf. C. W. Peppler: *Comic Terminations in Aristophanes* (J. H. U. Diss.) p. 46.

⁶ Arist. *Birds* 1126. Cf. *Philol.* XX, 587-616.

⁷ Isaeus V, 26; VI, 22.

⁸ Schoeffer art. *Δῆμοι* in Pauly-Wissowa V, p. 7.

⁹ Schoeffer: *Δῆμοι* in Pauly, Wissowa V, 6.

¹⁰ Aristotle Ἀθ. Πολ., c. 22.

demotikon is the regular official designation of the citizen. In private life the Athenians preferred to use the father's name and it is amusing to note that the clerks, who had the business of editing official notices, would give the other names in the records according to the law laid down by Cleisthenes but would put in their father's names when they mentioned themselves¹¹—outside the body of the notice, however. In comedy the characters introduce themselves with the *demotikon* but in address it is rare, though sometimes in non-official language the *demotikon* alone is used. From Plato it seems that the form of address current in good society was ὦ πατὴρ Ἀκουμένοῦ.¹² The personal name, father and

¹¹ I, G. I, 45 and 61.

¹² Wilamowitz: *Aristoteles u. Athen* II, 172. In the dialogues Socrates sometimes uses the *demotikon*. This is capable of two interpretations, a mock pomposity or a mark of familiar discourse.

Callicles of Acharnae addresses him by his *demotikon* in retort (*Gorgias* 495 D), and it might be noted in this connection that for all his readiness to speak of his friend Kritos as being of his deme, Socrates never mentions his own deme, as Laches does in the passage considered above (See Chap. VII, note 46). There is characterization here, and there may be in the greeting directed to Appollodoros when he is called a Phalerian by the friend who overtakes him as he is returning from Phaleron to the city (*Symp.* 172 A). The *demotikon* is punned on in one passage (*Phaedrus* 244). It is all very free and easy; the *demotikon* occurs in the conversational parts of the dialogue, in the narrative which gives the setting, or may even become a part of the stage directions, as it were. But when an Athenian has to be introduced to a foreigner or is mentioned to him or addressed before him the *demotikon* is avoided and he is presented as one of the natives (*Phaedo* 59 B, *Protag.* 316 B) or the *ethnikon* may be used (*Cratylus* 429 E). Out of 23 *demotika* considered, all but 4 were from country demes, and of these only 2 were within the walls of the city, Kerameikos and Kydathenaeon (*Symp.* 173 B, *Protag.* 315 D). In Socrates' circle a man from a city deme would hardly require the *demotikon* for identification; a family would be better suited to the taste of the company. If, however, he does have the *demotikon*, it is reasonable to suppose that his family is not so well known to Socrates and his friends. In the case of men from the country demes, if some member of the man's family is the better known, whether father or son, that name may be used with the *demotikon* to reinforce it; but this is generally in reply to some special inquiry (*Theaet.* 144 C, *Lysis* 204 E, *Cratylus* 396 D, *Phaedrus* 244 A, *Apol.* 33 E). This is the same form of name as if the patronymic were still used (*Hipparchus* 228 B.), is naturally used in speaking of friends or citizens of family, and it is in quite a different vein that Socrates refers to Meletus when one of his friends asks him what he is doing at the Archon's (*Euthyphro* 3 B.). The demesman may be cited as authority for some story about to be told (*Symp.* 175 B, *Cratylus* 396 D.), but in narrative the simple *demotikon* may be all that is required (*Euthyphro* 273 D, *Symp.* 176 D, *Protag.* 315 D.). In passages where a number of names are given the greatest variety is shown (*Lysis* 203 A, *Rep.* 328 B, *Gorgias* 487 C, *Protag.* 315 B. and C. *Menex.* 236.), now a *demotikon* between two father's names or two *demotika* with the father's name between them, or *demotikon* between *ethnikon* and father's name or father's name and *demotikon*.

son, is more purely personal than, say in Boeotia, where the patronymic was retained.¹³ And though the patronymic is used in Homer much in address in Attica it might not be regarded so seriously—if only because it was Boeotian. Thus we find Dikaeopolis calling Acharnians by a high-sounding patronymic¹⁴ and in an oration of Lysias a slave is addressed in contempt as Νικομαχίδης,¹⁵ his name being really Νικόμαχος. In Attic there is this light use of the patronymic in contrast to the dignity it might derive from religious myth. The Athenians preferred the more personal form of address. You call a man by his father's name,¹⁶ his son's name,¹⁷ his brother's name,¹⁸ sometimes in compliment, at others using a name already familiar to the circle. The son's name especially was complimentary and one is reminded how Ulysses chose for the title by which he would be known that of the father of Telemachos.¹⁹ And there are certain citizens of a leading family who are so often mentioned with only their father's name that their deme is not known.²⁰ The associations of the *demotikon* are democratic, of the father's name aristocratic; thus the two Thucydides are distinguished by their father's names, the two Thrasybuli by their *demotika* and Alcibiades the son of Kleinias was not to be confused with Alcibiades of Phegous²¹. But there was another difference. As the demes were a local institution of Attica and were not found elsewhere outside of Attica the *demotikon* had no great significance. When Herodotus, for instance, calls an Athenian by his *demotikon* it merely indicates that the historian has been consulting an Attic source,²² perhaps copied an Attic record, and in one instance he puts in 'Αθηναῖός τις right after the demename to show that it is an Athenian.²³ Outside of Attica the *demotikon* is strange. When

¹³ Meister. *Gr. Dial.* I. 196.

¹⁴ Aristophanes *Acharnians*, 322.

¹⁵ Lysias XXX, 11. Blass, *Att. Bered.* I, 463.

¹⁶ Plato: *Lysis*. 203 A, 204 E, *Protag.* 315 C. *Rep.* 327 A.

¹⁷ Plat.: *Apol.* 22 E.

¹⁸ Plat.: *Apol.* 33 E.

¹⁹ Homer: *Iliad* II, 260. Cf. also Euripides: *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, 687-712.

²⁰ Wilamowitz *Aristoteles und Athen* II, 172. The family of Καλλίας ὁ Ἰππονίκου held two very important offices—one that of πρόξενος at Sparta, the other that of δᾶδουχος at Ἐλευσίς. Could it have belonged to the deme Κυδαθηναίων?

²¹ Plato: *Alcib.* I, 113 B. Andocides I, 65 and Antiphon f. 8. Harp. s. v. Ἀλκιβιάδης.

²² Hdt. VIII, 93. VI, 131, is clearly from an Attic record.

²³ Hdt. VIII, 84. This to show that Ameinias Palleneus is from Pallene the Attic deme and not Pallene of Thessaly (Thuc. I, 56, etc.).

the Athenian made himself known to a larger public it was by his *ethnikon*, 'Αθηναῖος. So Thucydides began his history and so Pheidias signed his statue of the Olympian Zeus.²⁴ Another Athenian sculptor signed his work at first with his *demotikon*, 'Αγκυλῆθεν. Then it was set up at Oropus which proved to be outside of Attica. The inscription accordingly shows 'Αθηναῖος over an erasure.²⁵

Where several men of the same deme are mentioned the *demotikon* naturally takes the plural,²⁶ though it happens that most occurrences of the plural *demotikon* refer to the deme as a locality rather than to the body of the demesmen.²⁷

What can be learned from their use of the *demotikon* about the temper and spirit of the Athenians? They were exclusive²⁸ and never lost the sentiment of nobility. And the *demotikon* enabled the Athenian to indulge that sentiment of nobility as the old clan name or patronymic never could have done. The *demotikon* served to mark off the true citizens of the Imperial City from the slaves, metics, and other foreigners who were drawn into the vortex of the Peiraeus and against whose fraudulent admission into the registers of the demes such vigilance was ever necessary.²⁹ Within the body of the citizens aristocracy could not be checked, was sure to reassert itself, and the father's name took its place alongside the *demotikon*.³⁰ Thus in the fourth century a man was named by his *demotikon*, which ranked him as an Athenian, and by his father's name which served to distinguish him among the citizens.

²⁴ Paus. V, 10, 2. Strabo VIII, 353. Plato, *Protag.* 311 C. Isocr. XV, 2 (?). This was the fashion followed by the Humanists.

²⁵ This is Loewy's theory. See *Inscripfen der Griechischen Bildhauer* 127, A. But no. 126 'Αγκυλῆθεν. Of 59 occurrences of the *ethnikon*, only 6 are exceptions and the editor in each case disposes of them; of 57 occurrences of the *demotikon*, all belong inside of Attica.

²⁶ Dem. XLII, 28.

²⁷ Thuc. II, 21. Dem. XLIV, 21. 26, 28, etc., LVII, 56.

²⁸ Thus I. G. I. 2 is an inscription containing a decree of the Scambonidae about the care of the sacred rites and shows that the demesmen of Scambonidae excluded metics from their public sacrifices. Beginning with exclusiveness in religious matters (note how the Eteo-Boutadai changed their name) the Athenians extended it to social and to economic interests.

²⁹ See chap. VI, note 13.

³⁰ Wilamovitz calls attention to the names in the four inscriptions, I. G. IV, 117. II, 1685, II, 2002, and II, 2330. In these four cases, he explains, the father has only the *demotikon*, the son follows the fashion of the fourth century and consequently unless the custom changed with this generation the father was a new citizen. If the father was a new citizen, however, we would rather expect the omission of the *demotikon*. See Wilamovitz, *Aristoteles und Athen* II, 169-185, the chapter on The Athenian Name.

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